

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
FAR EAST COMMAND
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SECTION, GENERAL STAFF

CIVIL INTELLIGENCE SECTION

SPECIAL REPORT

SAIONJI-HARADA MEMOIRS

PART XIV

"KONOYE SEEKS RELIEF"

(27 Dec 1937 - 12 May 1938)

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MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SECTION, GENERAL STAFF

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THE SAIONJI - HARADA MEMOIRS

PART FOURTEEN: KONOYE SEEKS RELIEF

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Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 259
(27 December 1937)

Army Presses for Peace

Translated by Miss Miwako Yanamoto

In the morning of the 20th, I (HARADA) visited IKEDA at Oiso. He said: "KONOYE approached me saying: 'Please become the Minister of the Welfare Ministry.' I declined this and came home. Then a member of the House of Representatives came to my place immediately and said: 'Why didn't you accept?' I thought that the matter was just between Prince KONOYE and myself, but the story leaked out. I think it leaked out from the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet who went to the Chief Court Physician's place as a messenger. It is really distressing. I am not asking you to say anything against your will. However, if Prince KONOYE should touch on this problem, by chance, during a conversation, please explain to him fully that even if it leaked out, I didn't divulge it."

I (HARADA) went to Tokyo. In the evening the Chief Civil Administrator of Korea came over. He talked about the present situation in Korea. He said: "Everything is very quiet in Korea, and there is nothing particular happening."

On the 21st, I (HARADA) met the Foreign Minister. The Foreign Minister said: "General Staff Headquarters wants to stop the war as soon as possible. They are very impatient saying: 'We would like to have Germany as mediator and ascertain the desires of China.' We wanted to set up our stipulations and in hopes of securing a concrete plan by liaison conferences endeavored in various ways. The result was presented at a Cabinet meeting. They said: 'If this plan is submitted to them and isn't accepted, the Government will be placed in an embarrassing position.' The plan is to be changed to four abstract terms to cover the general situation, that is, anti-Comintern, economic collaboration, reparations and recognition of a

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special regional government. The plan is to be reported to the Emperor by the Premier and also by Army and Navy leaders of the Supreme Military Command Office. It was decided to close the matter without holding a conference in the Imperial presence. The President of the United States who was sitting next to Ambassador SAITO at some event in Washington whispered to him: 'Isn't it one way to try to have Germany handle the matter (as intermediary)?' The Foreign Minister also stated: "I hear that Italy wants to enter into the negotiations between Japan and China to settle the situation. Concerning China geographically, I think that Shantung must be included if a Chinese government (puppet) is to be set up in view of the firing by the Chinese of the cotton spinning factories owned by Japanese at Tsingtao. One of the problems is what the results will be if the request (to the warlord of Shantung for permission to pass through) transmitted through Germany is turned down and we have to force our way through. The political parties are very strong in their demands (to the Government of what should be done) because of what they see in the atmosphere of the foreign nations toward Japan. The Soviets are approaching YEN Hsi-shan and the German militarists seem to be approaching CHIANG Kai Shek."

That day I (HARADA) met KIDO. KIDO said: "The whole matter has been disorderly and I said plenty at the Cabinet meeting. I wonder if General Staff Headquarters hasn't committed various stipulations concretely through the German Military Attache in Tokyo. I feel it very dangerous to see the Army and Navy, especially the Army, or rather General Staff Headquarters so anxious to press the peace solution. If we submit many concrete stipulations and they turn it down, we are only letting them in on what we want. It will all be a loss with no gain. I am very worried wondering why they are in such a hurry. Today

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at the Cabinet meeting, I made a strong assertion and said: 'It is necessary that they (peace stipulations) be more abstract and contain something to cover everything. What need is there to force ourselves into asking Germany?' It is very strange that General Staff Headquarters is so eager. I am worried that Germany might put one over on us."

That night, Baron WATANABE of the House of Peers came to my place. He said: "When I went to Shanghai to give encouragement to our troops, Commander-in-Chief MATSUI was making some rather strong statements. The Army and Navy do not get along very well. When SUGIYAMA, a Fleet Chief of Staff, went to inspect South China, an Army sentry refused to let him land. The sentry said: 'We cannot allow anyone to land, without the permission of Commander MATSUI, no matter who he is,' and refused to let him land." He (WATANABE) told me various other stories. He worried and said: "The Navy must place someone as commander there who is as powerful as Commander-in-Chief MATSUI or someone who can hold his own with him, or matters will not proceed equally."

On the 22nd, Minister TANI returned and came to my place. He was very worried about the problem of foreign relations. It was decided that he would depart on the 25th to go and inspect China. He was to start first from Shanghai. TANI had the same opinion as KIDO and said: "The more we hurry, the later it will become (peace negotiations with China). It would really be regrettable if we allowed Germany to take advantage of us." They were looking for a Minister for the Welfare Ministry. KIDO said: "IKEDA, Seihin would probably be best." KONOYE approached IKEDA directly, but IKEDA declined.

On the 22nd, I (HARADA) visited the Navy Minister. I asked: "I hear the Army and Navy were impatient for a peace settlement,

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but what is it all about?" The Navy Minister replied: "Army General Staff Headquarters is very impatient. The whole Army, naturally, is also in a hurry, and the Navy is only backing them up. The Navy has no need for haste."

On the 23rd, I (HARADA) went to Okitsu. I reported to Prince SAIONJI on what had taken place. Prince SAIONJI said: "Speaking of German mediation, is the German Government doing it or is it German individuals? If punishment of those who fired upon the English warship were carried out, wouldn't it be easier to carry out future foreign policies?" Prince SAIONJI was very worried about how the peace solution would turn out.

I (HARADA) visited Premier KONOYE at his private residence in Ogikubo on the 25th. On the 24th, there had suddenly been a shift of the Chief of the Metropolitan Police Board, Vice-Minister of Home Affairs and the Police Bureau Chief. Admiral SUETSUGU became Home Minister. SAITO, the Chief of the Metropolitan Police Board, was summoned around one o'clock at night. He was told to resign suddenly and unexpectedly. HIROSE, the Vice-Minister of Home Affairs, was to go as Vice-Minister to the Welfare Ministry. As successor, HANYU, the Governor of Mie Prefecture, was to become Vice-Minister of Home Affairs. TOMITA, the Peace Section Chief, was promoted to Police Bureau Chief. The Police Bureau Chief took over after SAITO, the Chief of the Metropolitan Police Board. In connection with this, there was plenty of troublesome behind-the-scene manipulations. It was carried out at the recommendation of YASUI, the former Education Minister. I had heard previously: "If SUETSUGU becomes Home Minister, it will certainly be the work of YASUI." TOMITA, the Peace Section Chief, was a person with the most extreme Fascist tendencies in the whole Home Ministry. He is

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very friendly with YASUI, HIRAIZUMI Cho, and MAEDA of the Shimpei-tai. He (TOMITA) had gone to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal's place three or four times and carried on heated discussions. He had even tenaciously urged the destruction of the status quo. He had a rather radical nature and his presence in the Home Ministry was conspicuous. He had now become the Police Bureau Chief who was responsible not only for peace and order in the Imperial capital, but for entire Japan. People who knew the facts were very astonished.

I (HARADA) had previously told KIDO my ideas concerning Admiral SUETSUGU as Home Minister. When I went to KONOYE's place, KONOYE said to me: "Late yesterday afternoon, the Emperor summoned the Home Minister. He inquired: 'Will you please explain this new change of personnel? I hear that TOMITA is a Fascist, but is that true?' The new Home Minister was put in a very embarrassing position. It seemed he immediately told someone about the conversation between the Emperor and the Home Minister. This was heard by outsiders. There are those who say: 'It is extremely outrageous for the Emperor to interfere even in matters concerning one bureau chief.' Isn't it rather severe for the Emperor to go so far as to mention TOMITA by name?" The Emperor has questioned the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal carefully about the nature and character of people without any particular purpose before. The replies he had received, had by chance, appeared in the conversation. It wasn't that the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal had spoken to the Emperor especially about this personnel matter. However, the rightists were spreading rumors as if the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal had intentionally committed slander. They are attacking the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal vigorously and have started to say: "Clear the Court of corrupt elements." KONOYE

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was very worried about this. With the intention of protecting the Home Minister, KONOYE phoned KIDO and said: "Please relay this to the Emperor through the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal: 'Regarding the responsibility for this personnel change, I (KONOYE) urged the Home Minister by saying: "Why don't you consult YASUI?" Therefore, the Home Minister is not responsible.'" He said: "I wonder if he (KIDO) has explained that fully (to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal)." KONOYE himself told me: "I didn't think that he (Home Minister) would carry out this personnel change so suddenly. I was just thinking of telling him: 'YASUI is a good man, but he is somewhat narrow-minded. Keep that well in mind and carry out the change.' Just at that time, the shift happened very suddenly and even I was astonished."

After that, KONOYE was in bed for three or four days with a cold. He was very worried about the problem of the Welfare Ministry and other matters. I had heard it said: "What about MURATA Shozo (of the Osaka Shosen) (as Minister of the Welfare Ministry)? He would probably understand thought problems." I said: "I have connections with a very reliable person. I shall check with him." I asked HORI, Shin to come over on the 25th and talked to him. It was the observation of HORI, Shin, that: "I don't think MURATA could leave the Osaka Shosen just now."

On the 27th, I (HARADA) talked to KIDO by phone. In the afternoon, I met the Foreign Minister. He said: "It has been ascertained that the problem of the bombing of the American warship was based entirely on misunderstanding. The report of Lt. Col. NISHIDA who went to investigate for the Army was very good. It stated that there were casualties among the Japanese soldiers. The Japanese Army saved the ship of the Standard Oil Company which was about to sink and they undertook the rescue of the crew. An Army officer waved a Japanese flag to

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catch the attention of the Navy plane. It's been learned that it was a blunder on the part of Japan based entirely on misunderstanding. It seems that the United States understands finally that it was not deliberate. I think that when we reply to England in two or three days, that matter will also be settled."

On the 29th, I (HARADA) went to Prince SAIONJI's place. Prince SAIONJI happened to be ill. I talked to him on various topics at his bedside. I reported the matter of the assumption of office of the new Home Minister and various recent events, and came home. He (SAIONJI) asked: "Is KONOYE in good spirits?" I replied that he was very cheerful.

Later that night, after my return, War Minister SUGIYAMA, ARITA and I talked leisurely at the Shinkiraku about recent conditions. I asked that the Chief of the Kempei-tai be careful concerning the new personnel changes in the Home Ministry.

On the 30th, a note was sent to England with the reply that the firing upon the British warship by the Japanese Army was based entirely on misunderstanding. There is as yet, no reverberation. The situation is such that the matter is believed to be closed. There is much dissatisfaction within the Home Ministry because of the recent personnel changes. I later kept hearing that there was quite an uneasy state of affairs.

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Chapter 260
(19 January 1937)

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Translated by Miss Chito Isonaga

On the 30th, I met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and he said: "By chance, I was scheduled to meet a certain person in the vicinity of Ogikubo, but due to certain circumstances I was forced to change my plan. Nevertheless, as it was in the neighborhood of KONOYE's residence, I went to call on Prince KONOYE who was ill, to inquire after his health." The Lord Keeper also spoke enthusiastically about KONOYE's new Ogikubo residence and stated in a jolly mood: "We also had a desultory conversation."

About noon on New Year's day, I took my children over to KONOYE's place and as no one was there, we dined together with his family. During the conversation that took place during the luncheon KONOYE said: "In regard to HIRANUMA's coming forward if I resign, I (KONOYE) heard from SHIONO that HIRANUMA's henchman came over to his residence and stated: 'If such a thing should happen - that is, if an Imperial mandate is issued to that effect, HIRANUMA would most likely accept.'"

To this, I (HARADA) replied: "Well, I wonder whether or not he should come forward as the new Premier. I am very skeptical about the matter." KONOYE himself also said: "Well, that is true too. UGAFI also seems to be having quite a bit of opposition. But, maybe, it is just as well as there is a war going on."

In the evening when I met KIDO at his residence, he related: "Not long ago KONOYE requested me to go and

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see the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and discuss with him about his personnel. As I (KIDO) told you (HARADA) the other day, I gave up doing so, as it was too much trouble. Later I (KIDO) met KONOYE, therefore, I told him: 'Well, I did not go to see the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal.' To this, KONOYE replied: 'Oh, is that so,' and did not say anything else in particular. Later, KONOYE mentioned: 'The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal came over to inquire after my health on the 29th of last month. Consequently, I (KIDO) was quite relieved and left matters as they are.'

On the 5th, I (HARADA) made my first appearance of the year at the Prince's (SAIONJI) residence and while we were talking about various matters, the Prince spoke up and said: "It seems that the Japanese people, in general, despise Imperial rule and prefer military rule. I wonder why they do not favor the Constitution."

In regard to the constitution granted by the Emperor, I (HARADA) retorted: "Maybe, they are discussing the fact that the constitution was brought over from Europe and developed under democratic principles, therefore, making it impossible for it to fit into the so-called native Japan." To my (HARADA) foregoing remark, the Prince retorted: "But there is such a thing as Prince SHOTOKU's Constitution of 17 Articles. Isn't it proper that Imperial Rule develops along with respect for the people's rights?" That day I (HARADA) returned immediately to Tokyo.

On the 6th, when I was invited over to a friend's villa in Atr, I received a phone call from KONOYE to the effect of: "It has been decided to have KIDO hold an additional post as Minister of Welfare." I (HARADA)

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immediately called up the Prince at Okitsu and notified him of the above.

On the 8th, I met IKEDA at Oiso and he also stated repeatedly: "It will be futile to select HIRANUMA should KONOYE resign." He (IKEDA) likewise commended UGAKI saying: "At the conferences of State Councillors, it is UGAKI who is most outstanding." I (HARADA) called on KIDO early on the morning of the 10th in Tokyo and he discussed matters pertaining to the political connection of the Ministry of Home Affairs with that of the Welfare Ministry in connection with the transfer of personnel of the Welfare Ministry. KIDO stated: "In short, Communications Minister NAGAI is useless." It seems the military is terribly overzealous. KIDO seemed quite concerned and said: "They have not said anything, even to KONOYE, but do you suppose the military has some big plans under way?" According to KIDO: "Two years ago when MACHIJIRI was an aide to His Majesty, he stated: 'Military preparations in connection with Russia will be completed in four years. The coming one or two years will be bad as it will be the critical period.' Judging matters on this, it was at this critical point that the China Incident started. This, of course, resulted all the more in the shortage of war armaments; therefore, the restoration of this is very vital.

"Or again, there is much concern over the fact that there might be secret talks going on with Russia to form some sort of a military alliance, such as: 'Several years hence when Germany rises in arms, Japan will do likewise,' and: 'Should Japan rise in arms, Germany also will do the same.' Due to the foregoing, the military is eagerly

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endeavoring to press the Incident (Chinese) to a conclusion. In the final analysis, it seems that it is the desire of Japan's General Staff to carry out a general conversion in order to make possible, ample preparations at the end of two or three years.

KIDO further stated: "I have neglected to call on the old Prince (SAIONJI) for a long time, therefore, I would like to see him. Will it be all right for me to go over on the morning of the 16th?" With the foregoing request, I (HARADA) returned home.

As I (HARADA) had a request to come at 11:00 o'clock to the Premier's official residence, I went over, but was told that the Cabinet meeting was not finished as yet and that preparations for a council in the presence of the Emperor were being made at the Army's insistence to make haste. Although I went over with an appointment to see the Premier, I could not meet him for a long time as the conference was still on. I (HARADA), therefore, went over to the Palace in the meantime, and met with the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. He stated: "As a matter of fact, there is such a thing as this. This morning, the Emperor summoned me and he said: 'The Genro (Prince SAIONJI) has advised me to follow the same procedure I take when I personally attend the conference of the Privy Council when I go over to the Grand Imperial Headquarters. But, according to His Highness, the Chief of the Naval General Staff: 'Whenever the War Councillors hold a conference in Your Majesty's presence, discussions do not develop unless Your Majesty make inquiries. Everyone maintains a complete silence and does not say a word in Your Majesty's presence. This places us in an

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awkward position. Therefore, we would like very much to have Your Majesty speak. Prince SAIONJI is of the general opinion that it is better for me (Emperor) if I did not make any comments; but His Highness, the Chief of the Naval General Staff, desires otherwise. What do you suppose is the best thing for me (Emperor) to do? Won't you please ask the Genro (Prince SAIONJI) his idea on the matter again?"

To the foregoing, I (HARADA) replied: "The Prince (SAIONJI) did not say that not a word should be spoken by the Emperor at such meetings. What I think the Prince wanted to make clear was that His Majesty must not say anything which might result in His Majesty becoming directly responsible in matters pertaining to politics. Nevertheless, (the Prince) was of an opinion that it might be perfectly all right for His Majesty to ask questions in order to make some vital points clear."

The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal was inquiring: "When do they intend to convene the Council in the presence of His Majesty?" Therefore, I (HARADA) answered: "It is their wish to convene it even tomorrow, if it is at all possible. Therefore, I shall go immediately to Okitsu today and after discussing the matter with the Prince, answer by phone." To the foregoing, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal replied: "Then please do so."

Thereupon, I immediately left the Palace and once again went over to the official residence of the Premier and told him: "Due to the foregoing story, I am leaving on the 3:00 o'clock express Fuji for Okitsu...." To which Premier KONOYE answered: "To tell you the truth, neither the Navy nor the Foreign Ministry are in any

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great hurry to have the Council in the presence of the Emperor. Moreover, they do not feel that there is such a great necessity to have such a conference. Only the Army seems anxious to have such a Council, possibly due to the fact that the views on the part of China are expected to be somewhat clarified around the 12th. Furthermore, as both Commander-in-Chiefs TERAUCHI and MATSUI have expressed very strong opinions, it is the desire of the Minister of War and others to suppress their views before the above date by saying: 'It was determined at the Council held in the presence of His Majesty.' Of course, this is a cowardly thing to do. Moreover, as they intend to use His Majesty as a tool, I think it is scandalous, but as it cannot be helped in this instance, I intend to request that such a Council be convened. The Premier also stated: "The Deputy Chief of the Naval General Staff and the Deputy Chief of the Army General Staff are in the next room right now and are straightening out the phraseology of the resolutions which they expect to have approved at the Council in the presence of His Majesty. The Deputy Chief of the Army General Staff is such an unreasonable fellow, I sometimes wonder how he ever got as far as he did." KONOYE also requested that I extend his regards to the Prince (SAIONJI).

On my way home, I met the Deputy Chief of the Naval General Staff and the Deputy Chief of the Army General Staff and heard from them of the various state of affairs.

I left for Shizuoka on the 3:00 o'clock express Fuji and upon meeting with the Prince after my arrival in Okitsu a little after 6:00 o'clock, I spoke to him of His Majesty's inquiry which I (HARADA) had learned of

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from the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. To this, the Prince replied: "Well, if it is an ordinary question, it cannot be helped. At ordinary times, when a member of the Cabinet is received in audience by the Emperor, there are usually some questions asked. (At a council in the presence of His Majesty), the number increases, that is to say, the people present -- the number of ministers increases and should a question arise in His Majesty's mind, of course it is all right for him to speak as a matter of questioning. Only, it is not good when the questions asked by His Majesty results in their becoming Imperial decisions or sanctions. The Ministers of State must bear the responsibility in every respect...."

Immediately, I called the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal on the phone from the study of the Prince and told him what the Prince had said. I learned that the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, himself, had reported to the Emperor something similar in meaning to that of the Prince (SAIONJI). "It is as you say," answered the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. At the same time he (Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal) said: "Premier KONOYE has just left from calling at the Palace. Upon being granted an audience with His Majesty, Premier KONOYE said: 'It has been determined at the meeting of the Cabinet members that it would be wiser for His Majesty if he does not say anything at the Council which is to be held in His Presence at the Grand Imperial Headquarters tomorrow. I beg of His Majesty to attend the Council in silence.' The foregoing was also to be made known to His Highness, the Chief of the Naval General Staff by KONOYE and I (HARADA) was also told to inform the Prince (SAIONJI)

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that the necessity to have His Majesty make inquiries did not exist anymore. And so, I immediately notified the Prince about this and returned home.

The Council held in the presence of His Majesty was convened at 2:00 o'clock of the 11th and was adjourned at 3:00 o'clock. This fact was made known to me by MATSUDAIRA, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, via phone. Therefore, I immediately called the Prince on the phone and reported to him: "I shall relate to you of the details pertaining to the foregoing, later."

I (HARADA) then spoke to the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet as well as KONOYE on the phone and was told that the Council was concluded without any mishap. Premier KONOYE said: "I was charged with expediting the proceedings of the Council." In the evening papers of the 11th, articles pertaining to the investiture of the newly established Minister of Welfare and the transfer of personnel were published.

On the morning of the 13th, I met with KIDO and he told me that he had heard from KONOYE that SUETSUGU was very powerful for he was advocating that Canton must be attacked by all means. Otherwise, it would be impossible to cut off the life line of China. Attack Canton without fail. KIDO requested that I talk to SUETSUGU. Therefore, I talked over various matters with Chief Secretary KAZAMI and SUETSUGU and said in part: "To indiscriminately advocate the attack of Canton bears some thought as it deals with expeditionary forces. Moreover, should our forces clash with the British as a derivative incident of the Canton attack, heaven knows what will happen. England

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might close down the exchange as well as boycott us economically. This matter as well as its consequences should be considered from a broad standpoint and is undoubtedly not a matter that could be carried out hastily." As I (HARADA) explained the foregoing, SUETSUGU, first of all, replied: "That is quite true. This matter should be carefully considered." Thus his mood was somewhat calmed. As a result, KIDO felt that KONOYE, who was very upset after meeting with SUETSUGU, recovered his composure as SUETSUGU's attitude showed signs of returning to normalcy.

I called on the Foreign Minister on the 14th and he said: "At the Council held in the presence of His Majesty, the Premier was charged with expediting the proceedings whereas I (Foreign Minister) was called on to do the explaining. I first described the progress of our foreign policy as well as our future peace and war policies and His Highness, Prince KAN-IN, the Chief of the Army General Staff followed by His Highness, Prince FUSHIMI, the Chief of the Naval General Staff, approved of the proposals that were established. The President of the Privy Council expressed himself to the effect that he also approved of the decisions that were made. Anyway, the fact that everything was settled without any objection from anyone was reported to His Majesty. His Majesty, the Emperor then presented the closing address and then made his leave."

I (HARADA) met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and heard from him of various matters which came up after I last spoke to him. He also told me the details of the Council which took place in the presence of His Imperial Majesty.

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On the 15th, it was decided at the General Staff Office that through the medium of the Foreign Minister, an answer be required of China by the 15th as to whether or not they accepted or disapproved Japan's proposed peace terms. This being the day the answer was to arrive, it was planned that even if the reply is denied, action will be delayed for about five days. This time, it is the profound desire of the General Staff Office to settle the matter distasteful as it may be. A liaison conference was convened at the official residence of the Premier and on the morning of the 15th, the attendance of both His Imperial Highness, the Chief of the Army General Staff and His Imperial Highness, the Chief of the Naval General Staff was requested. The conference lasted from 9:30 a.m. until 8:00 p.m. of the same day. According to the details of the conference which I received from KONOYE, the Army General Staff Headquarters is out and out in favor of the cessation of hostilities in China even if only a day sooner and begin preparations against the Soviet. This appears to be their greatest desire as well as concern.

As for the Deputy Chief of the General Staff, he stated: "Even if it is a council held in the presence of His Imperial Majesty, he does not make any remarks. That is like an out and out Emperor organ theory. This time I would like to submit the matter to His Majesty's judgment before a decision is made. So saying, he (Deputy Chief of the General Staff) reversed from the very basis, everything that had been settled up until now. Moreover, it seemed that it was his desire to deal with CHIANG Kai-shek in person and come to a peaceful conclusion."

The reply already received from the Chief of China's

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Foreign Bureau through the medium of the German Ambassador, was to the effect that the proposals submitted to China through the German Ambassador in Japan were too abstract in content, therefore, difficult to comprehend. She also requested that a more concrete proposal be presented. The Foreign Minister retorted: "China, through our Army General Staff Headquarters, as well as through the German Military attache, is, in general, well aware of our concrete proposals, but despite this, she feigns ignorance and is still insisting that the proposals are not understandable. There is no hope in that sort of a reply. Therefore, as it has been determined at the Council before His Imperial Majesty that there is nothing else we could do but to launch into our alternate plan. This is to transfer the present hostilities into a long-term warfare. It is vital that we strengthen our determination to this effect." The foregoing was the contention of the Foreign Minister. The Premier and his cabinet members were of the opinion that it was not to our advantage should the hostilities with China be prolonged.

In the end, the same arguments were being repeated but Navy Minister YONAI spoke up and said: "Does that mean that the Army General Staff Headquarters does not have confidence in the Government? If it is so, it means that either the Army General Staff Headquarters or the Cabinet must resign en masse as a result of opposition between the two." Anyway, there was a recess around 7:00 o'clock.

The Army General Staff retired to their offices for consultation during this interlude and returned to the official residence of the Premier at 8:00 o'clock when

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the meeting was reconvened. The Deputy Chief of the General Staff remarked: "To have a change in the government at the present time is not wise. The General Staff Headquarters has confidence in the Government and will concur with the decision it makes." Therefore, soon after 8:00 o'clock, the proposal was settled.

The Cabinet meeting was again convened and at 8:30 p.m., after the meeting had ended, the Premier called at the Palace to report to His Majesty, the Emperor, what had taken place and then withdrew from his presence. His Imperial Majesty spoke to KONOYE saying: "To tell you the truth, His Highness, Prince KAN-IN, the Chief of the Army General Staff came to see me. Therefore, I inquired of him: 'Under what circumstances is the Army General Staff anxious to cease hostilities with China even a day sooner and start preparations (against a future war with Russia). In other words, is there danger of the Soviet attacking us?' To this he (Prince KAN-IN) replied: 'In short, it is like having guards when His Majesty makes a visit. It does not mean anything, but should something happen, being responsible, I cannot justify myself. Therefore, with the same purpose as when we guard you (to our utmost), we would like to make preparations (military) against Russia.'" His Majesty also stated: "The Army General Staff hoped that I would grant an audience to Prince KAN-IN, the Chief of the Army General Staff before receiving Premier KONOYE, but I calculated that this might be definitely a scheme to overturn what had already been determined and I (Emperor) refused his request saying: 'That won't do as I have already made arrangements to see the Premier first.'" The foregoing

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was His Majesty's words.

Both Prince KONOYE and KIDO have told me (HARADA) the following: "The Army General Staff is justified in their ardent desire to have out and out peace, but as long as it has developed to its present state, to leave it unfinished or to be dragged along by the opponent, i.e., to show from our side what's in our mind by assuming an attitude of a beaten nation and submitting terms to the effect, of how would it be to conclude peace, is not an attitude to be taken by a country which has been winning consecutive victories. Should such an action be taken, it would be rumored that Japan has weakened considerably and could it be that she is already in a precarious situation? In this way, her cards would be revealed. Externally, it will result in the sudden fall of the yen exchange and depreciation of government securities which will disrupt business altogether and make the buying of commodities impossible. What are we to do should there be a panic? Nevertheless, if we are going to settle matters, it should be concluded logically. This is a problematical situation."

In regard to HIRANUMA, the President of the Privy Council, attending the Council in the presence of His Majesty, i.e. when it was requested of the Emperor to summon President HIRANUMA, His Majesty asked KONOYE: "Is he being summoned as a high official or what?" To this inquiry of His Majesty, KONOYE replied: "He is not being asked to attend the meeting as a higher official. It is due to the fact that foreign treaties are referred to the Privy Council for deliberation. Under these circumstances, it was considered appropriate to summon the

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President of the Privy Council.

Moreover, according to KIDO's conversation, on or about the evening of the 12th: "Two or three days ago, Prince CHICHIBU requested that I (KIDO) come over by all means, therefore, I called on him at his palace. Prince CHICHIBU with opinions which made it appear as though he was representing the Army General Staff, questioned me in the following manner: 'On what grounds is the Government refraining from concluding the present hostilities even a day sooner? How much longer do they think that Japan's financial strength will last anyway?' To the above questionings, I (KIDO) explained the circumstances at length. I discussed the various situations with His Highness from 8:30 to a little past 10:00 o'clock. In the course of the conversation, Prince CHICHIBU remarked: 'The present hostilities differ from that of the Sino-Japanese and the Russo-Japanese War in that, we are not waging war against the people of China but against the CHIANG Kai-shek regime. Therefore, from a broad standpoint, why not liquidate the friction to date and clasp hands?' To this I (KIDO) replied: "Even if the present situation differs from the Sino-Japanese and the Russo-Japanese War, it is impossible after our Japanese troops have killed 700,000 to 800,000 soldiers of the Chinese Army to look grave and say: 'Let us shake hands,' and truly mean it. Furthermore, is Japan a victorious nation or a defeated one? Is it for a victorious nation to say: 'We, by all means, would like to make peace as soon as possible', by submitting all kinds of terms? If by doing so we show our true colors and should the opponent refuse to respond to this, they will, in reverse, use this as a

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means for propaganda saying: 'Japan's internal condition is such and in very straitened circumstances. With these terms, she (Japan) has expressed hopes for peace.' If such propaganda should be spread both at home and abroad, it will result in Japan being put at a disadvantage. For example, this will cause a slump in the yen exchange and government securities as well as loss of confidence in the government's (Japan) economics and finance. It will also result in the nation not being able to purchase any commodities and prices of goods will soar and become a menace to internal peace. Diplomacy is, of course, necessary to conceive a plan for peace, but unless this is handled in such a way that the settlement is solid, i.e. if things are handled in a manner the General Staff Headquarters desires, I shall have no end of worry for the government." To this, Prince CHICHIBU retorted: 'What you say is true. Nevertheless, I think the government is incompetent.' With this, I (KIDO) took my leave."

I (HARADA) returned to Oiso on the 17th and as Gen. UGAKI had called on me, I returned the visit in the afternoon.

I (HARADA) also paid a courtesy call on IKEDA Seihin and he remarked: "I met Baron HIRANUMA the other day and he was saying: 'It is very annoying to have SUETSUGU handle YASUI's personnel work.' It appeared as though SUETSUGU and HIRANUMA did not get along very well these days," but I (HARADA) surmised this to be a very doubtful statement. At the same time, IKEDA said: "Major Gen. ISHIHARA's father passed away recently and as I was in Tokyo and as his family came from the same native place as myself, I went over to offer my condolence. Gen. ISHIHARA

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came out to greet me and said emphatically in the course of the conversation: 'KONOYE does not meet up to my expectations of him. The defense preparations against the Soviet in Manchukuo should be undertaken immediately, for it is a menacing problem. They should leave North China alone and concentrate on solidifying Manchukuo against Russia.' Gen. ISHIHARA suggested that IKEDA meet with KONOYE before he left in order to relate to him of the foregoing conversation, but it seems that he (IKEDA) made his departure without calling on Prince KONOYE.

Judging from the foregoing circumstances, I (HARADA) arrived at the conclusion that the cause of much insistence recently on the part of the Deputy Chief of the Army General Staff, as well as others from the General Staff to formulate peace plans at the Liaison Conference with the intention to again alter what had been already determined at the Council in the presence of His Majesty on the 15th, was due to the instigation of Maj. Gen. ISHIHARA.

I left for Okitsu on the eve of the 17th and when I spoke to the Foreign Minister by phone in the morning, he said: "As the Chinese government failed to accept the proposal (determined by the Japanese Government), the Council held in the presence of His Majesty arrived at a decision to launch into the alternative plan. The foregoing was related to the German Ambassador and his reply was: 'To be sure, there is nothing more that could be done under the circumstances. I shall explain it in detail to the Ambassadors and Ministers of all nations.' Moreover, the Foreign Minister informed me (HARADA): "The American Ambassador had been notified but the English

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Ambassador was still not aware of what had occurred."

I (HARADA) went before the Prince (SAIONJI) at 10:00 o'clock and told him absolutely everything that had taken place. I also brought all papers pertaining to the Council held in the presence of His Majesty which were handed to me by the Premier. The Prince was very much concerned over the international affairs. That evening I returned to Tokyo and went to KIDO's residence where the Juichi-Nichi-Kai (11 Day Society) was having a meeting and listened to their conversation.

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Chapter 261
(28 January 1938)

The Army and Foreign Policy

Translated by Miss Chito Isenaga

When I (HARADA) came out to Tokyo on the 21st, I received a phone call from Prince CHICHIBU saying: "Come over to my palace from 7:30 on the evening of the 22nd." Upon calling at His Highness' Palace, he launched into a discussion with me on the recent state of affairs as well as matters he had already talked over with KIDO. The conversation dealt with his Majesty's concern over foreign affairs as well as the administration.

I (HARADA) expressed my views on various matters saying; in short: "Regardless of whether it is foreign policy or internal affairs, if there isn't any unity between the War Ministry and the Army General Staff Headquarters, there is no control of the Army. In other words, if the liaison between our expeditionary forces and that of the Chinese Central Government is not perfected to run more smoothly, the politician cannot take the responsibility of both internal affairs and foreign policy. I believe that the urgent necessity of the day is for Japan to unify the military department. In other words, in these respects, His Highness, as a soldier and as a member of the Imperial Household, should be of assistance to His Imperial Majesty". I (HARADA) conversed with His Highness (Prince CHICHIBU) for more than an hour on various subjects and made my leave.

On the 24th, I (HARADA) was invited over to lunch at IKEDA's residence in Oiso and while there, I had the pleasure of conversing with Gen. UGAKI until 3 o'clock for the first time in a long while.

On the 26th, I called on the Prince and gave him a general report of the situation after the last visit I had

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made. As KONOYE had requested of me, I inquired: "How were the general aspects of the Council held in the presence of His Majesty during Emperor MEIJI's reign?" To this the Prince replied: "Of course, His Majesty listened to what took place. In short, (Emperor MEIJI) made inquiries and also expressed his views, but of course, the Minister of Home Affairs, as well as the Premier who bore the responsibility as advisors to the Throne, saw to it that none of the consultation was revealed to outside sources. It is very distressing if more serious discussions do not take place at the joint conference representing the two houses."

He (Prince SAINOJI) further stated: "I should like to see the Electric Nationalization Plan settled to advantage. As long as the government has shown such a bold front, it must be passed." Moreover, in regard to Prince YAMAGATA's secret representation to the Throne issue, the Prince related an old story to the effect of: "On one occasion, Prince YAMAGATA informed His Majesty, Emperor MEIJI by written document: 'OKUMA and ITO are for government by the people, but Aritomo (I, Prince YAMAGATA) is for the absolute monarchical form of government.'"

I (HARADA) returned on the afternoon of the 26th and that evening, UCHIDA, Nobunari, came to call on me and discussed with me at length on the various aspects of AKITA, SHIMADA and KUBARA's backstage political movements. He (UCHIDA) also spoke of the relation between SUETSUGU, MATSUOKA and AKITA, but he mentioned the fact that there was not too much connection between SUETSUGU and AKITA. In short, KUBARA sent a henchman of MAEDA's to KONOYE's place with a message strongly recommending MAEDA for Finance Minister. In other words, MAEDA, should he be selected as Finance Minister, is scheming to select SHIMADA as Cabinet Councillor and thereby establish

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his influence all the more. Moreover, it is said that AKITA is repeatedly talking about 'selecting KIDO as Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal.' This comes from a personal (AKITA) ambition, for if KIDO becomes the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, two Ministerial positions will become vacant and as a result, he (AKITA) is calculating that he might be selected for one of the vacancies. KONOYE, himself has already spoken to me (HARADA) of the above.

On the 27th, I called on IKEDA, Seijun, and he stated: "At the Cabinet Councillors meeting, it was decided to call the Premier and the Foreign Minister and inquire of them: 'Isn't there any means by which the diplomatic relationship of Japan could be improved? The most important problem of this moment is to improve the relationship with Britain.'"

In the afternoon, I called on the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal at this Palace and he reiterated matters pertaining to the Imperial Rescript problem saying: "His Majesty approves of the contents of the Imperial Rescript which is usually prepared for state ceremony, but does not endorse those which deal with only criminals who plot internal disturbances."

Later, I met KONOYE at the Diet and told him that Prince SAIONJI has been saying repeatedly: "Isn't there any means by which the diplomatic relationship of Japan could be improved?" And, also that the Prince remarked: "The Electric Nationalization Plan has to be passed as long as matters have progressed to that advanced stage." To this (KONOYE) replied: "If some means to improve the diplomatic relations of Japan are to be formulated, there is a necessity to change the Cabinet, otherwise, there is no way of dealing with the foreign policy."

KONOYE, in the course of the conversation said: "A few

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days ago Prince CHICHIBU went to the Emperor and said: 'At this time, we should go no further with the war in China.' His Highness, the Chief of the Naval General Staff, also had an audience with His Majesty and remarked: 'The General Staff Headquarters is very weak and of no use.' His Majesty remarked: 'If you can tell me that now, why didn't you say so from the very beginning?' The Emperor seemed very concerned".

Moreover, KONOYE said: "The views of Governor-General MINAMI have suddenly changed and he has become a moderate. He is expressing the same opinion as that of the General Staff, that is, the war must be brought to an end immediately." Then, I (HARADA) inquired: "In the event that MINAMI should become a cabinet member, whom do you suppose will become the Foreign Minister?" To this, KONOYE replied: "It will be MATSUOKA. There seems to be some connection between AKITA, MATSUOKA and MINAMI. Without doubt, there is also some sort of relationship between MATSUOKA and KUBARA. Moreover, there are rumors to the effect that there might be some sort of mutual interest between SHIMADA, KUBARA and MATSUOKA.

Regarding other matters dealing with foreign policy, KONOYE strongly stated: "Without a change in the government, the foreign policy of Japan cannot be altered. It would be all right to let MINAMI take over the reins of the government." Therefore, I (HARADA) replied: "Such an intrigue should not be made to succeed." Therefore, KONOYE's opinion is that it is not satisfactory to talk about having the Cabinet resign on the basis of the Electric Nationalization Plan. Therefore, he intends to submit an amendment to the Civil Service Appointment Ordinance and resign en bloc on this pretext. According to what KONOYE says, it seems that he is calculating that he could get away with the above and

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be able to alter the foreign policy situation of Japan to his advantage. To the foregoing, I (HARADA) emphatically stated: "That would never do at the present time. Moreover, since I have the impression that you are taking a very irresponsible attitude, you must maintain your composure and continue on." To this, KONOE answered: "Invariably, the General Staff Headquarters should be powerful and the War Ministry weak, but the situation at present is just the reverse and as a result, even His Majesty finds matters very distressing."

On the eve of the 27th, I had ARITA and Gen. ABE over at the Kuwana and inquired about the various aspects of the situation. ARITA said: "Even as it stands, it might be possible to alter the foreign policy of Japan provided the right opportunity is grasped." Gen. ABE retorted: "I did not calculate that the General Staff Headquarters would alter what had already been determined so rapidly. It is an unpardonable thing. Anyway, it is all right to outwardly carry out what the majority favors and on the contrary, undertake matters according to the foreign policy of the nation (Japan). But, regardless, it is disagreeable to have the General Staff reverse the once settled agreement made with the Ministry. Anyway, I shall inquire into the state of affairs." So saying, Gen. ABE believed the situation to be outrageous.

On the 28th I met Navy Vice-Minister YAMAMOTO at his residence and he said: "In a day or two there will be a meeting of the Army General Staff and the Navy General Staff at the Suikosha (Naval Officers' Club). At that time I shall ask: 'What on earth remains of the military operations. It is not favorable to remain stationary as we are, and thus, find out the true feelings of the military.'"

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On the way home, I met the Foreign Minister and discussed matters pertaining to the Imperial Rescript and the foreign policy of Japan. The Foreign Minister stated: "As far as the foreign policy of our country is concerned and as long as the military clearly specify exactly how they want matters carried out and order us to procure the plans, there are steps that could be taken. Nevertheless, if we should thoughtlessly take over the matter now and if there are reprisals to the effect that 'it shouldn't be handled this way or that way', there is absolutely nothing that can be done. Regarding the problem dealing with the Imperial Rescript, the Foreign Minister said that he was devoting all of his attention to it.

Moreover, I spoke to the Minister of War via phone and mentioned the matter pertaining to the Imperial Rescript and he remarked: "I understood it (Imperial Rescript) to be like any other one, but then, I shall take careful note of it. As for the Diet, the actions of the Seiyukai Party are very disheartening. KUBARA's henchmen are vigorously attacking the government regarding the General Budget meeting. Calculating that Finance Minister KAYA is the weakest of them all, they are aiming in that direction. As a result, KONOYE appears to be slightly disgusted over the situation."

Before I (HARADA) left for Oiso on the eve of the 28th, I spoke to KIDO and cautioned him on various matters. I also requested him to see KONOYE and have a long talk with him. The following morning when I called KIDO to find out about the state of things, he said: "I met KONOYE for a short while and it seemed that he was quite distressed over the situation of the General Budget meeting. As for

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the Imperial Rescript problem, it will definitely be, in general, similar to the Imperial Rescript which is presented at state ceremonies. Plans are under way to see that only special matters are not aimed at. It is also quite a problem to subdue KONOYE but I'll (KIDO) try to do so."

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Chapter 262
(9 February 1938)

Suetsugu Nittles Army

Translated by Miss Chito Isonaga

On January 21st, I called on YAMAMOTO, the Vice-Minister of the Navy and he remarked: "A meeting of the Army General Staff Headquarters and the Navy General Staff Headquarters is being held at the Suikoshu (Naval Officers' Club) tonight to determine the aims of the Army General Staff." When Vice-Minister UMEZU, the Navy Vice Minister and myself (HARADA) were discussing matters before, Vice Minister UMEZU had said: "From a broad standpoint, it was unfavorable to establish political power in North China." Vice-Minister YAMAMOTO concluded: "If we mutually discuss matters, everything becomes comprehensible."

On February 1st, I met KONOYE in the Cabinet Ministers' room of the Diet. I (HARADA) told him: "I am leaving for Okitsu the day after tomorrow. Isn't there anything I can do for you?" To this, KONOYE replied: "There is nothing of special importance, but you might speak to the Prince (SAIONJI) about the amnesty issue. Please assure the Prince that it is to be very conventional and will not be anything of special importance." To this, I (HARADA) inquired: "Amnesty is a good thing but is there anyone who deserves commendation?" KONOYE answered: "To tell you the truth, there is a campaign going on requesting that Count KANEKO and Prince TOKUGAWA be granted the Grand Order of the Chrysanthemum. Furthermore, it has been decided to have HARA, Yoshimichi, as the Vice President of the Privy Council." I (HARADA) remarked: "The campaign requesting that Count KANEKO and Prince TOKUGAWA be granted the Grand Order of the Chrysanthemum sounds dubious to me and places me in an awkward position." KONOYE said: "It has not been definitely decided as yet. I am just informing you that there is such a movement going on, but that does not necessarily mean that I intend to carry it out"

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by all means." I then said: "As for myself, I am against it -- absolutely opposed to the idea. But, of course, there might be various reasons. Nevertheless, it worries me, as the general public might think that you (KONOYE) are thoughtlessly taking advantage of His Majesty's supreme power to confer awards. Of course, I shall discuss this matter with the Prince (SAIONJI), but I am quite positive that the Prince will also disapprove of this idea."

I (HARADA) casually mentioned this matter on the phone to KIDO and he replied: "Has such a request already gone to KONOYE? Someone came over to my residence and repeatedly requested the same, but I flatly refused to have anything to do with the matter by saying that it was impossible. To this, the fellow answered: 'Is that so,' and made his departure."

Then, I met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and he stated: "It is very regrettable that the Rightist faction is acting overbearingly out of plain fun. In connection with the present amnesty issue, His Majesty told me: 'KONOYE was told that amnesty was granted during the SAITO Cabinet because the Crown Prince was born. At the same time, I stated that it was only the mitigation of sentences, and that it would be all right if it was such a degree.' KONOYE, however, is saying that he had never been informed of such matters. To this, I (HARADA) stated: 'To tell you the truth, when I met KONOYE a little while ago, the amnesty question came up and so I said: 'His Majesty claims that during the SAITO Cabinet, he agreed that if it did not go beyond mitigation of penalties, it would be all right. Are you sure you were not told of this?' To this KONOYE replied: 'I have not been informed of anything to that effect.'" The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal was more or less puzzled over this and seemed quite troubled.

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When I met the Foreign Minister a short while ago at the Diet, he stated: "In connection with the amnesty question, the Army and Navy Ministers were saying: 'They would like what pertains to the Army or Navy handled separately. Therefore, I (HARADA) told the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal: 'I have heard that the situation pertaining to amnesty question has somewhat calmed down.'"

After leaving the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, I called on the Foreign Minister at the Foreign Ministry and he stated: "To tell you the truth, I am having Ambassador YOSHIDA talk matters over with the English Government. I told him: 'The Foreign Policy of the Japanese Government is identical with the contents of the Foreign Minister's Diet speech and no more. Japan will not do anything that will affect England's profits. As far as settling or continuing this incident (China) on a large scale is concerned, it has nothing to do with the furthering of our friendly relations with England which we intend to continue. Nevertheless, should the war situation advance one stage further and continue on, Japan has no intention of infringing on England's profits. Therefore, she would like to have England carefully consider shipping (Yangtze River) and other problems in connection with her residents.'"

Moreover, the Foreign Minister said: "What I am about to say is to be repeated only to the Prince (SAIONJI), for I do not intend to mention it even at the Cabinet meeting. This is only between the Army and Navy Ministers, the Finance Minister and myself. There is talk in Germany of reclaiming Germany's South Seas Colonies. Germany is saying that they expect the good will of Japan in solving this problem. In other words, they are saying that they (Germany) want to have the Mandated Islands returned. The Navy is saying: 'We (Japan) would like to return the Mandated Islands to Germany and then later

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purchase them." "The foregoing, is the hope and desire of the Japanese Navy, but it is difficult to draw a line of demarcation. That is, they want to return and buy (Mandated Islands) at the same time. It is my (Foreign Minister) intention to discuss this matter with England gradually and then settle it."

On the morning of the 3rd, I went to Okitsu and spoke to the Prince of the Navy's desire to return the Mandated Islands to Germany and then purchase them from her. To this, the Prince replied: "How would it be if things were left as they are and the Islands purchased directly? Of course, it is none of my business, but rather than return it once, don't you think that the other way has less danger of causing an issue?" Regarding the Rightist faction's high-handed actions, the Prince retorted: "Does KONOYE intend to sell his favors to the Rightist faction? If not, what does it mean?" The Prince seemed quite concerned. The Prince continued: "Fellows such as OKAWA, Shumei, are absolutely no good. I heard that he once hid himself at the St. Luke's Hospital under an assumed name. Moreover, in connection with the revision of the Civil Service Act, it would be ideal should KONOYE consult with KIDO and carry matters out. It is very unpleasant to see the Premier himself take the lead in attacking bureaucracy; it is also not desirable. For as far as the office work is concerned, the government officials are the only ones who can handle the matter, for neither the Army nor the political parties can do it. When His Majesty grants an audience to the Premier, distinction must be made between desultory conversation and political opinions. In other words, distinction must be made as to when problems of his (Premier) responsibility are discussed and when it is otherwise. We (Prince SAIONJI and others) also used to joke and talk nonsense when in audience with the late Emperor MEIJI, but when it came to discussing serious political problems of

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which I was held responsible, I made careful note of it and treated it as such."

Prince SAIONJI again suggested that I (HARADA) caution KONOYE on the foregoing points. I also mentioned Count KANEKO's and Prince TOKUGAWA's matter concerning the Grand Order of the Chrysanthemum issue and his reply was: "It is out of the question. As far as that issue is concerned, KIDO should know of it from way back." As His Majesty was suffering from a slight cold, I (HARADA) inquired into His Majesty's condition of the Grand Chamberlain and was informed that His Majesty's health was not too badly impaired. I (HARADA) mentioned this to the Prince also.

On the 4th, I returned to Tokyo and met with the Premier and conveyed to him the contents of my conversation with Prince SAIONJI. The Premier remarked: "To tell you the truth, I held a liaison conference at the spur of the moment, but it was a big failure." This was due to the fact that TADA, the Deputy Chief of the Army General Staff said that it was outrageous that matters discussed at liaison conferences had leaked to outsiders. TADA was extremely angered and he said: "Hereafter, I shall tell confidential matters only to Premier KONOYE. With others I shall never discuss such matters."

The following is the reason for the above attitude of TADA:

The General Staff Headquarters desires to stop the war (China Incident) as soon as possible. It is of the general opinion that the war should be terminated by any and every means. However, the General Staff Headquarters will not readily reply to why they think that war should be ended. Now, when TADA was asked at the liaison conference about why the General Staff Headquarters desired to terminate the war as soon as possible, he replied: "I won't answer because I fear that this confidential matter will leak to outsiders." To this, KAZAMI, the Chief

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Cabinet Secretary said: "You are saying that the secret will leak. However, we are not the ones who permit this sort of information to leak, but it is, rather, the field grade officers of the Army who are the cause of the leak of confidential information." Then TADA, the Deputy Chief of the General Staff asked: "For what reason is the Home Minister, Admiral SUETSUGU, permitted to attend this Liaison conference?" Premier KONOYE answered: "The Home Minister has been attending this conference since the time of former Home Minister BABA; the Home Minister is a member of this conference because he is in an important position to maintain public peace and order." TADA seemed to be very dissatisfied with this answer.

On my way home I (HARADA) went to see HIROTA, the Foreign Minister. We discussed the problems concerning the Mandated Islands, Liaison conferences, etc. On the morning of the 5th, I met Navy Minister YONAI and YAMAMOTO, the Navy Vice-Minister. The Navy Minister said: "This was trouble which occurred at the Liaison conference." The Foreign Minister had told me: "The Army bears extreme antipathy towards Admiral SUETSUGU. When the General Staff Headquarters said that the confidential matters of the Liaison conferences were leaking, they had concrete evidences supporting the charge. Admiral SUETSUGU did permit confidential matters to leak out through him. The General Staff Headquarters claimed that Admiral SUETSUGU had passed on certain confidential matters to Gen. HONJO and that HONJO, in turn, had told these to young Army officers. Moreover, it is said to have been said at the General Staff Headquarters: 'It had been planned to insult Admiral SUETSUGU by facing him with this concrete charge.'"

When the Navy Minister met SHIONO, the Justice Minister, to discuss the matter of special amnesty, the Navy Minister

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said: "I have not heard anything from the Justice Ministry concerning the special amnesty. I don't like the idea of having this broached to us suddenly in an imposing manner. If you are expecting to do such a foul thing, it's outrageous."

To this, SHIONO replied: "No, you've got me wrong. The Justice Ministry will of course make preliminary negotiations with the Navy Minister before executing the matter." To this, the Navy Minister said in a very angry manner, "There are very few days left before the matter will be executed. What is the reason for this?" To this, the Justice Minister answered: "Oh, I shall send an official to your Ministry before carrying this matter out."

Sometime later, I met Chief Cabinet Secretary KAZAMI and discussed the problem of the Liaison Conference with him. KAZAMI said that he was aware of the fact that Admiral SUETSUGU had permitted a confidential matter to leak through to Gen. HONJO. KAZAMI said that he told the army officials: "Gen. HONJO is a person who holds an important position; he is a person of trustworthy character. Therefore, I don't see any reason why you should be so irritated over the fact that when he discussed state matters with Admiral SUETSUGU with great solicitude, he permitted some confidential matters to leak during the course of their discussion."

On the evening of the 7th, I was summoned by MATSUDAIRA, the Imperial Household Minister. He was extremely worried over Japan's relationship with Great Britain.

On the 8th I met KIDO. I also met MUNAKATA of the Bank of Japan. I made arrangements for MUNAKATA to be received in audience by Prince CHICHIBU in order to explain the prevailing situation in Shanghai to His Highness.

In the evening, I again met with the Premier. I also met KIDO, the Education Minister. KIDO said that he was worried

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because KOBAYASHI, Junichiro, and other right wingers came and harassed him over the matter of reforming the universities. He said that he told KOBAYASHI, Junichiro: "The fact that you are coming to me in order to tell me that something must be done about the matter signifies that you have no confidence in me. You are probably planning to harass me by having your representative, IDA, Bannen, interrogate me on this matter. However, this sort of action on your part will not make me reform the university. For instance, should IDA question me on the matter of university reform and should I, in direct response to this, begin reforming the universities, people would say: 'KIDO is being made the puppet of the rightists and is starting to reform the universities.' This would be embarrassing for me. Moreover, the universities themselves, would not appreciate this sort of thing. I am not ignorant of the fact that there are certain points concerning universities which require reform. Let me handle this according to my own ideas. Your action is impeding any possible reforms. If you have no confidence in me, I am ready to resign at any time. Don't mistake the Education Ministry for the police; that would be vexatious." KIDO said that when KOBAYASHI, Junichiro, heard this, he became extremely contrite and departed without saying anything further.

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Chapter 263
(1 February 1938)

Kido Plans Education Reforms

Translated by Miss Chito Isonaga

On the 8th I met the Foreign Minister and he said that he was advised by Cabinet Councillors UGAKI and IKEDA that Japan, through diplomatic maneuvers, must endeavour to draw Great Britain and the United States to her side. As the Foreign Minister had been quietly building up a foundation for such a thing for quite some time, it appeared that he (Foreign Minister) would formulate some plan and put it into effect. It also seems that the Foreign Minister had received reports to the effect that the Bank of Japan's Investigation Bureau Chief, MUNAKATA's combinet project with Great Britain in Shanghai was progressing satisfactorily.

MUNAKATA stated: "I dined with the personnel of the expeditionary forces and after my return here (Japan), I met with members of the Army General Staff Headquarters and had informal talks with them. In short, I stressed the following three points: First, consider the effect of the reduction of the purchasing power on the part of the Chinese populace. Second, consider how foolish it is for Japan to bear the responsibility of destroying Shanghai, the center of the international economic world. Third, what will be the outcome of committing an act which will result in losing the confidence of the Chinese people. I (MUNAKATA) also told them: 'It is for us to point out to the Chinese people how bad CHIANG Kai-shek's policies are and make them aware of the fact that there is nothing to gain and plenty to lose should the Chekiang

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financial clique combine their operations with CHIANG Kai-shek. In this way the CHIANG Kai-shek regime and the Chekiang financial clique would be separated from each other. What is most essential is to have as much of the Chekiang financial clique's fortune, that is, capital dropped in Shanghai, to be used to our (Japan's) advantage.' I thoroughly explained the foregoing to the Army General Staff as well as the War Ministry. The staff officers of the expeditionary forces heartily agreed to the foregoing and said: 'We place our wholehearted confidence in you, therefore, please carry out your plans.' As for the military leaders in Tokyo, they also remarked: 'We will take the responsibility of matters pertaining to the Grand Imperial Headquarters; therefore, carry out your (MUNAKATA's) plans.' Therefore I responded by saying that I would do everything in my power to carry out an economic project in Shanghai."

I (HARADA) made arrangements for MUNAKATA to be received in audience by Prince CHICHIBU in order that he might speak directly to the Prince of his plans. On his way home from his audience with the Prince CHICHIBU, MUNAKATA called at my residence and said: "I spoke with the Prince for two hours on various matters. The Prince made all kinds of inquiries, some of which I could not answer." So saying, MUNAKATA was very much impressed by His Highness' sagacity.

I (HARADA) met the Premier that afternoon and I remarked: "It would be a good idea if the Foreign Ministry is encouraged to take more active interest towards making further negotiations with Great Britain in connection with the China Incident." To this, KONOYE replied:

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"By all means, I would like to do so." KONOYE also stated: "As Premier, I would personally like to hear what MUNAKATA has to say before he makes his departure." MUNAKATA had told me (HARADA): "I hate to give the impression that I came over and immediately caused mischief. Therefore, please conceal the fact that I met with the Premier, Minister of Education KIDO and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal." Therefore, it is my intention to keep the matter a secret.

On the 9th I met with the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and he spoke of the particulars of the Imperial Rescript in regard to amnesty that was limited to mitigation of penalty and rehabilitation. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal continued: "It is only natural that a person petition the government for clemency. And to this, the Premier above all, and others like the Minister of Justice, should act as a bulwark to prevent such an occurrence. But, I feel as though this bulwark and the tides are, in reality, simultaneously surging forward to aggravate the situation. Since then, due to the efforts of the War Minister, it has been made possible to come thus far and check matters at mitigation of penalties and rehabilitation; that is, general and special mitigation of penalties. As a result, even if a general amnesty is requested, it will not be sanctioned. As for the mitigation of penalties, it has been determined that offenses up to breach of the Election Law, will be included. To put it more concretely; for example, in the case of Lt. YAMAGUCHI and others of the Feb. 26 Incident who were sentenced to life imprisonment; they will get twenty years by special amnesty. In other words, if it is a general

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pardon, a person sentenced to life imprisonment receives full pardon; whereas, by special pardon, his life sentence is cut down to twenty years.

"Minister of Justice SHIONO, during this time, was sick in bed and was said to have told some people: 'Before my illness, it was my intention to carry matters out on a large scale, but during my illness, due to the maneuvers of the advisors to His Majesty, the amnesty issue was narrowed down to mitigation of penalties and rehabilitation.' With these words, the Minister of Justice said things to the advantage of the Rightist faction which was plotting an intrigue. He is a very irresponsible Minister of Justice!"

That afternoon I met Prince KONOYE and he said: "Not long ago, when I met Gen. ARAKI, he remarked: 'Gen. UGAKI has invited me to visit him at Oiso. Therefore, I am thinking of going over on an overnight trip.' So saying, Prince KONOYE commented on how interesting it was to think that the relationship between UGAKI and ARAKI had become like this (friendly)."

When the China Affairs Bureau was established, the question as to whether SHIRATORI should be made a bureau chief or a director and the basic problem as to where this bureau should be placed came up. The Foreign Ministry wanted to place it under its Foreign Bureau and the Cabinet wanted to place it within its jurisdiction. At present, it has not been determined as to whose jurisdiction it will come under. But, should it be decided to have the China Affairs Bureau come under the Foreign Bureau of the Foreign Ministry, HIROTA had said that he will select SHIRATORI as its head.

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Later, Premier KONOYE had told the Deputy Chief of the Army General Staff that he wanted to speak to him alone concerning a confidential matter, the Deputy Chief of the General Staff was especially concerned over the relationship with the Soviet Union. Japan had military resources which might permit her to wage war until June or July of this year. The Army General Staff Headquarters was worried lest the Soviet Union should attack Japan which would have brought about an immediate capitulation of the Japanese armed forces. In short, we have only up to about June 7th to make preparations. The greatest concern of the Deputy Chief of the General Staff was the fact that Japan would be conquered without the least resistance should the Soviet attack suddenly.

The Premier also spoke of the matter pertaining to the party dissolution and he stated: "The group that is backing this party dissolution movement is trying to settle the difficult issues such as national mobilization and the electric nationalization plan that the government has proposed by supporting them." But I (HARADA), personally, have my doubts in regard to this organization. The Premier also said: "Commander MATSUI and Gen. HATA are relieving each other and Prince ASAKA as well as Division Commander YANAGAWA are also returning from overseas. It has also been decided to return 50,000 reservists to Japan proper."

On the 10th, I went to Okitsu and met the Prince. I reported to him on the general details of what had occurred up until now and also of the plans that had been arranged in connection with the 50th Anniversary of the Promulgation of the Constitution (of Japan). To this, the Prince

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emphatically stated: "It is to be regretted that society notices only ITO's shortcomings and underestimates his character."

On that day, I went to Kyoto and stayed there from the evening of the 10th to the morning of the 12th. In the interim, I met such men as Maj. Gen. SUZUKI and HASHIMOTO, Seikichi, the former Police Bureau Chief, presently the General Affairs Section Chief of Kyoto Prefecture.

Maj. Gen. SUZUKI said he was in complete accord with the opinion of the General Staff Headquarters and stated: "Japan must obtain the cooperation of countries which have intrinsic utility-value for Japan. Otherwise, Japan would never be able to gain her ends through diplomatic means. In order to attain her purposes, it is most essential for Japan to try to collaborate with the United States and Great Britain." Maj. Gen. SUZUKI was of the opinion that in order to effectuate this, the following should be given due consideration: "Japan's military preparedness towards the Soviet Union should be sufficient, or in other words, Japan should be in a position superior in military power in relation to Russia. This is the essential condition to have utilitarian Great Britain make rapprochement with Japan. The important issue in Japan's diplomatic policy is to effectuate the alienation of Great Britain and the Soviet Union. For attaining this purpose, Japan's military strength must be superior to that of the Soviet Union. Then, China will inevitably attach herself to Great Britain and will subsequently have to come to terms with Japan. Therefore, the most important problem for Japan at present is to build up a

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sufficiently strong military power to cope with the Soviet Union." This is the chief point in their proposition. They talked about the internal situation of the Army and it seems that they deplored the fact that the Army had no man to cope with the present crisis.

HASHIMOTO, Seikichi told me: "The personnel administration of the Home Ministry is completely haywire. The present personnel set-up at the Home Ministry has to be thoroughly changed by the next cabinet, otherwise, the preservation of public peace and order in Japan would be exceedingly difficult." After hearing these people, I returned to Oiso on the 12th. I stayed at Oiso until the 15th, on which date I went to Tokyo and met KIDO.

On the 14th, IDA, Bannan, severely attacked the Imperial Universities at a session of the House of Peers. The reply of Education Minister KIDO was so clear cut that I felt that it might create a difficult situation for him. Therefore, when I met KIDO on the 15th, I asked him: "You made your reply (to IDA, Bannan) without making any reservation in your statements. I feel that this might create a very critical situation for you later on. Are you sure of yourself?" KIDO said: "There are many behind-the-screen reasons (for my answer). The Education Ministry must make some reform in the Imperial Universities."

Premier KONOYE had become rather seriously involved with the rightists. I had felt that KIDO had entered the cabinet in order to check this rightist tendency of KONOYE. I felt that it would cause KIDO to lose the sympathy of intelligent people and also cause the decadence of academic sanctity if he became more rightist than KONOYE by expressing an agreement of opinion with

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the Rightists (with IDA, Bannan). Should KIDO act in such a way, I thought there was no 'raison d'etre' for KIDO in the Cabinet. I was greatly worried over this matter and thoroughly explained to him: "If I incessantly criticize you irritatingly as your intimate friend, you might become annoyed. Consequently, I am refraining from commenting too much on this attitude of yours. However, to tell you the truth, I am worried when I see the way you are acting." KIDO said: "Well, everything is fine, don't worry too much."

When I met the Premier after seeing KIDO, he said: "On the evening of the 16th, approximately 90 members of the Seiyu-kai Party who are for disbanding the party signed their names to the disbandment agreement. Among these, approximately 50 persons can be gathered together for the purpose of forming a nationally united party. These people are giving their unconditional support to the bills presented by the government to the Diet. They are the people who are going to give their whole-hearted support to the Cabinet." In the early part of his talk, KONOYE mentioned the names of such people like KUMAGAYA and KINOSHITA. Consequently, I feared that KUHARA, Fusanosuke, was pulling the strings behind the scene.

I met Foreign Minister HIROTA in the hall of the Diet Building. He was worried and said: "Some time ago, I was received in audience by the Emperor in his rooms when he was indisposed. His illness seemed to be turning for the better; however, he seemed to be extremely emaciated. He was in such a condition to make one feel exceedingly sorry for him when one looked at him. I felt that he might have to rest after recovering from his illness."

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Immediately, I telephoned Okitsu and explained the condition of the Emperor to Prince SAIONJI. I also explained this to the Premier. The Premier said: "I think it would be better for the Emperor if he went to Hayama. I shall recommend this to the Emperor. Please have Prince SAIONJI also make this recommendation to His Majesty." I again telephoned Prince SAIONJI at Okitsu and conveyed the Premier's words to him. Then, I immediately went to see the Imperial Household Minister. I told him: "It seems His Majesty, the Emperor is exceedingly emaciated. Therefore, I believe it is necessary for him to rest after he recovers from his illness." I explained to him that Foreign Minister HIROTA and Premier KONOYE were worried. I also told him that when I explained this to Prince SAIONJI, he had said: "Make arrangements for His Majesty to go to Hayama by all means." MATSUDAIRA, the Imperial Household Minister said: "Last night, the Grand Chamberlain came to me and he was also extremely worried over this matter. The difficulty in realizing this plan is caused by the opposition of HIROHATA (Chamberlain), et al. They are worried over possible criticism on the part of the general public which might say: 'Is it necessary for the Emperor (to go to Hayama) to convalesce at this critical time?' For this reason, they won't readily agree to this plan. However, I am going to try to have it realized by all means."

On my way home, I went to the Imperial Palace and met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. When I related the above matter to him, he said: "At present, circumstances are such that the Grand Chamberlain and other court officials close to the Emperor will not consent to

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His Majesty studying in the biological laboratory. Because Prince SAIONJI had put in a word for him, the Emperor is able to indulge in horseback riding. However, he is not able to go to his laboratory. HIROHATA and KANROJI are the ones who are creating all the difficulty." Then I said: "If that is the case, shall I meet HIROHATA or KANROJI and persuade them on this matter myself?" The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal answered: "If you feel like that, will you please talk to them from your personal standpoint without mentioning me?"

Therefore, I summoned Chamberlain KANROJI and told him: "Listen, Ministers who have been received in audience by His Majesty are worried over the fact that the Emperor is extremely emaciated. They are saying that the Emperor must go to a suitable resort for convalescence. When I explained this to Prince SAIONJI over the phone, the Prince was extremely concerned. He said: 'What's the matter with the Grand Chamberlain, Vice-Chamberlain, and others? What are the persons who should be the first to be most concerned for the Emperor's welfare doing now?' He also said: 'I believe it is necessary for the Emperor to go to Hayama by all means in order to recover his health. Please recommend this course.' Don't be concerned over what the public will say, what the military will comment, or what the Rightists think. Should you be restrained by criticism on the part of the public and should the health of the Emperor be affected, what are you going to do? Don't misunderstand the meaning of loyalty to the Emperor. According to what I hear, the Emperor has not gone to his biological laboratory once since some time ago. Would not the fact that the Emperor has not

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gone to his laboratory for quite a good deal of time signify the evident lack of loyalty on the part of the court officials close to His Majesty? Prince SAIONJI is seriously concerned over this matter."

KANROJI answered: "I am thankful over the fact that you have mentioned this matter. That is an advice which we would have wanted someone other than court officials close to the Emperor say. It was most desirable to have it said by Prince SAIONJI. This was a matter which we were powerless to do anything about." I said: "Please convey this immediately to the Grand Chamberlain and the Vice-Chamberlain. It will be all right for you to tell HIROHATA in particular that HARADA had come and was exceedingly angry over this matter. Please explain this matter to him thoroughly." KANROJI was very happy over this and said: "I shall do as you say by all means," and then we parted.

A few days later, I went to see the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and told him regarding the diplomatic policy: that several councillors had expressed a pro-British attitude and that means for coming to understand Great Britain must be given first preference. To this, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal said: "Needless to say, it is very necessary for Foreign Minister HIROTA to take steps towards the diplomatic policy to be taken towards Great Britain, but as long as the internal affairs of Japan are not in harmony, the Foreign Ministry shall always have to bear the responsibility, should the diplomatic maneuvers end in failure. By failure, I mean that in spite of the fact that the Foreign Ministry should undertake ways and means of coping with Great Britain

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diplomatically, if the Rightists should launch an anti-British movement and cause reverse action internally, diplomacy as well as any other measure will be impossible. Preparation for internal harmony should be made so that it would be in accord with the foreign policy. The Minister of Home Affairs and those about him should carefully consider how the government's foreign policy will progress. Therefore, I would like to have the Premier and others made to understand this thoroughly. I shall also mention it."

I (HARADA) then met Vice-Minister YAMAMOTO at the Navy Ministry and we talked mainly on the adjustment of state affairs. To this, Vice-Minister YAMAMOTO said: "Recently, I spoke to Ambassador CRAIGIE for two hours on various topics and he remarked, in private: 'I shall try and do my utmost.'"

Vice-Minister YAMAMOTO also said: "Just before requesting for an Imperial Rescript in connection with amnesty not long ago, IMAMURA, the Vice-Minister of Justice, appeared at the conference of the Vice-Ministers and said something to the effect of an informal representation to the Throne. Therefore, I (YAMAMOTO) asked: 'What do you mean by reporting to the Emperor in private?' He did not make any reply to this. Therefore, I later inquired the same of the Director of the Bureau of Legislation and he also did not have much to say. As I believed some sort of agreement concluded between the Cabinet member concerned and the Premier by secret representation, that is, when the decision of a Cabinet member is reported to the Throne, it is called 'naiso' (private report to the Throne), I demanded an explanation as to how they could

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call the matter 'naiso' off-hand when it has not been discussed with the Minister of Justice or other ministers concerned and the clerical portion of the matter still not handled. As a result, Vice-Minister of Justice IMAMURA cancelled the word 'naiso'."

Vice-Minister YAMAMOTO also said in a very puzzled manner: "Vice-Minister IMAMURA is a queer sort of a fellow. In connection with the operations in North China, the Tientsin Army is repeatedly requesting the War Minister that everything be left up to them. Nothing has been said to the Navy Ministry but should a request come through, the Navy will raise an objection."

On the 16th, I again went to Okitsu and met the Prince. In the midst of our varied conversation, I related: "A few days ago, when the President of the Peers School, Adm. NOMURA, came over to see me, he said: 'There were some special suggestions made by Prince CHICHIEU in connection with the Peers School. Therefore I figured that I would first go and consult Baron IKKI who was formerly an Imperial Household Minister. Upon discussing matters over with IKKI, I found him to be a man of sound ideas and one who clearly expresses his opinions. IKKI is a very reliable person.' With these words, Adm. NOMURA praised IKKI. To this, the Prince replied: 'To tell you the truth, in the course of my conversation with all the Imperial Household Ministers who came to see me, there was not a single person who could answer my question of whether or no the Imperial Household Minister is a State Minister. But Imperial Household Minister IKKI distinctly answered that he was a Minister of State. Moreover, in connection with the formality of countersignature, there might be

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some mistake in precedence. I (Prince SAIONJI) am responsible for this but nevertheless, IKKI distinctly replied that the Imperial Household Minister is a State Minister. No 1, I presume the rest of the Ministers (Imperial Household) looked on, thinking that I (SAIONJI) was insane."

When I spoke to the Imperial Household Minister by phone that morning, I found out that those connected with the Imperial Household Ministry had decided on the trip (to Hayama) for His Majesty, the Emperor, but the decision of the Imperial Headquarters still remained. As for the Grand Imperial Headquarters is concerned, it is essential that the War and Navy Ministers directly persuade His Majesty to go (to Hayama) for recuperation. The Imperial Household Minister requested that I take some steps. Therefore, I called the War Minister directly and discussed the matter. I also spoke to the Navy Vice-Minister. The War Minister said: "Naturally, I shall say 'all right'." The Navy Vice-Minister said: "For some time, the Navy Minister himself has been quite concerned every time he heard of His Majesty's ill health. As it is only proper that His Majesty has a change of climate, I shall recommend the matter."

When I (HARADA) returned to Oiso on the 16th from Prince SAIONJI's, there was a telephone call from the War Minister who said: "Upon consultation with Their Imperial Highnesses, Prince KAN-IN and Prince FUSHIMI, the Army and Navy Chiefs of the General Staff, respectively, as well as with the Navy Minister, His Majesty, the Emperor, was requested to go to Hayama for a change of climate to recuperate from his recent illness. However, His Majesty replied: 'We will not my going to Hayama for recuperation

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from a minor ailment affect the soldiers who are fighting at the front? Is it safe for me to go?' The foregoing inquiry was made of the Chief of the Army General Staff, Prince KAN-IN, who immediately answered: 'Without doubt, it is all right. If there should be anything the matter with Your Majesty's health, it will affect the morale of our soldiers.' With this, Prince KAN-IN made his leave. In short, as both the Army and Navy Chiefs of the General Staff encouraged His Majesty to go on a trip, His Majesty was very much relieved and appreciated the suggestion."

The Imperial Household Minister also called me (HARADA) later via phone and said: "I was received in audience by His Majesty and he stated: 'Both Princes, Chiefs of the Army and Navy General Staffs, have suggested that I go to convalesce. After I get to Hayama, will it be all right for me to go out on a boat to collect micro-organisms?' To this, I replied: 'That shall have to be decided upon after consultation with your physician. It might be all right for Your Majesty to go out on clear days, but nevertheless, as it is still very cold, I think it would be wise to listen to the opinions of Your Majesty's court physician.'"

By the foregoing, one can clearly see how concerned His Majesty was of public opinion of his actions even of going to Hayama. I (HARADA) mentioned the foregoing as well as the details of both the Army and Navy Chiefs of the General Staffs' views pertaining to this to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal via phone, in spite of the fact that I was convinced that he had already been directly informed of the matter.

On the 17th, I returned to Tokyo and that evening,

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I invited the former Chief of the Metropolitan Police, the former Imperial Household Minister, KAWARADA, the Minister of Overseas Affairs OTANI and Finance Minister KAWA. That evening there was talk to the effect that the 'Bogudan', an organization which is a part of the Party Dissolution Movement had exclusive control of both (Seiyukai and Minseito) party headquarters. There was great indignation over the fact that the Metropolitan Police had tolerated this situation for about ten hours without action. At any rate, the matter was later settled by them and the responsible persons taken into custody. In short, they had gathered a group of ruffians similar to those famed bullies from the three Tama sub-prefectures. They say that there were a thousand of them, but in reality, there were not more than 500 or 600. As I had thought, this was an intrigue on the part of KUHARA.

On the 18th I (HARADA) met the Navy Minister and the Vice-Minister. Wondering as to their opinions regarding the incident of the capture of the party headquarters, I asked them and found out that we were in accord. They also expressed dissatisfaction as to the control policy of the Ministry of Home Affairs. I took my leave after discussing His Majesty's contemplated trip (to Hayama), the future of the political parties and like matters.

On the afternoon of the 18th, I (HARADA) met Count KODAMA at the House of Peers and he said: "Someone came to HIRANUMA's place and reported that Premier KONOYE had decided to become the President in the event that the Minseito and the Seiyukai parties merged." He (Count KODAMA) told me this as he wanted to find out the movements of the Minseito Party.

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He added: "Is Premier KONOYE really intending to take the office as President? I replied: "As far as I know, the Premier has no such intention. Nevertheless, I shall find out if he has changed his mind recently." With these words, I (HARADA) took my leave.

I was very much concerned about Education Minister KIDO, so when I met him a few days ago, I told him: "You will lose the confidence of the intellectuals if you do not refrain from getting involved by doing everything according to the wishes of the Rightists." KIDO answered: "I am conducting matters upon consulting Dr. ONOZUKA and President NAGAYO, so, do not worry."

Due to this foregoing remark, I (HARADA) called Dr. ONOZUKA into the private conference room and questioned him. I found out that Professor ONOZUKA was very dissatisfied at the attitude of the Minister of Education as well as that of President NAGAYO. I was also somewhat disillusioned over the fact that the consultation and coordination that KIDO mentioned was not actually what I had presumed it to be. Nevertheless, I have intentions of meeting with KIDO and discuss the matter with him at length. At one time, Dr. ONOZUKA was Premier KONOYE's instructor and as the Premier was on very intimate terms with this teacher, criticisms arose from various quarters to the following effect: "We thought Premier KONOYE had a very good understanding towards education but according to recent indications, it seems that he does not." The intellectuals are saying, in connection with the path taken by the KONOYE Cabinet, whether it is not leaning too much towards the right. Dr. ONOZUKA also said that there are many who have requested that Premier KONOYE

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be warned through him, but as it would be too conspicuous if he should go and see Premier KONOYE and moreover as he had no such opportunity to meet him, for me (HARADA) to explain the situation very carefully to KONOYE. Dr. ONOZUKA requested this of me.

I (HARADA) therefore met Premier KONOYE and said: "To tell you the truth, Dr. ONOZUKA is very much worried over you. It was presumed that you possessed a more thorough understanding as well as consideration towards authorities on education and the authorities of the highest seat of learning, but since it has been revealed to the contrary, the intelligent public is very apprehensive. Dr. ONOZUKA himself has also asked me to warn you in detail about the matter; therefore, I am complying with his wishes." To this KONOYE remarked: "Really, this is a very difficult situation!"

Later the issue pertaining to the exclusive possession of both the Seiyukai and Minseitō Party headquarters by a gang of ruffians from the three Tama sub-prefectures and the lax control of the situation by SUETSUGU, the Minister of Home Affairs, became a public issue as well as at the Diet Session. It was rumoured that there might be some kind of connection between the Director of the Police Bureau, the Chief of the Metropolitan Police and Minister of Home Affairs SUETSUGU. Also, that it was possible that the above might have something in common with KUHARA's gang. SUETSUGU, the Minister of Home Affairs, stoutly denied the accusations, saying over and over again: "I shall never recognize Fascism. I am determined to follow the spirit of the Constitution from the beginning to the end." He (SUETSUGU) seemed quite upset to me.

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Later, in a telephone conversation of the 21st, KONOYE remarked, in connection with whether or not the Seiyukai would split in two: "It is very complicated, isn't it?"

The Emperor left for Hayama on the 19th.

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Chapter 264
(4 March 1938)

Konoye Bought for Party Head

On the 21st, I (HARADA) met Gen. UGAKI at Oiso and discussed matters pertaining to foreign policy. Moreover, I defended Foreign Minister HIROTA in connection with the State Councillors' complaint against him.

On my way home, I called on IKEDA, Seihin, and as it seemed that he also had the same grievance against Foreign Minister HIROTA as Gen. UGAKI, I said: "At any rate, under the present circumstances, even at the conference of Cabinet members, there is much danger of information leaking. Therefore, such being the case, only a few, for example, the Premier, the Army and Navy Ministers and the Finance Minister are made familiar with secret information dealing with foreign policy, as there is need for extreme caution. This is very regrettable, but there are among the cabinet members, matter-of-fact fellows who do not understand a thing about foreign policy. As matters now stand, even a private consultation of one state minister with His Majesty, the Emperor leaks out. There are among those who have the responsibility of giving advice to His Majesty, some who are not capable of bearing responsibility; therefore, leakage of foreign policy discussed in the Cabinet is nothing unusual. In short, it is very difficult to have matters carried out according to one's wishes. Should the Foreign Minister try to carry out matters opposite to our way of thinking, there is bound to be immediate interference or else it is made to leak out unintentionally. As the foregoing brings about drastic interference on diplomacy, the Foreign Minister is speaking with great caution. It is very difficult to keep any sort of secret before AKITA or MATSUOKA, especially when the State Councillors meet. Therefore, if you (IKEDA) really want to have the details, why don't you personally contact the Foreign

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Minister, meet with him and ask him all sorts of questions that you might have. If you also mention that you would like to have him inform you of certain matters that are considered secret, the Foreign Minister might even oblige you with such. I (HARADA) shall be sure to tell Foreign Minister HIROTA what you have told me. Therefore, make it a point to see him. If there is even one among the state councillors who has some knowledge of the existing situation, it might cause less complication when a conference (of State Councillors) is convened. I shall leave everything to your best judgment." With these words, I (HARADA) returned home.

Then, I immediately called the Foreign Minister via phone and said: "I am calling from Oiso. Due to various reasons, should IKEDA request to see you, will you please confer with him as you see fit?" To this, the Foreign Minister said: "I understand and will do as you say."

On the 22nd, I went to Tokyo and as it had been settled that Minister TANI was to leave shortly for his post in China (Shanghai), the four of us -- OGURA, MATSUDAIRA, Yasumasa, and myself had lunch together with TANI at the Company's dining room and listened to what he had to say.

In the afternoon, I went to see Premier KONOYE at his Ogikubo residence and as he was in bed with a cold, I had an opportunity to discuss various matters with him leisurely. During the course of the conversation, I discovered that the Premier was very concerned about the National Mobilization and the Electric Power Bills.

KONOYE said: "Anyway, I beg of you (HARADA) to do your utmost in the House of Peers in connection with the Electric Power Bill. KIDO is in charge of two ministries and the others are the heads of their respective ministries, but as we are short-handed, please figure out a way so that the cabinet

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ministers will refrain from taking political action as Ministers of State." I (HARADA) remarked: "It seems as if they are checking up on the funds angle in connection with the issue pertaining to the exclusive possession of the Boko Gokoku-dan. Could it be that it (fund) is coming out of the Cabinet?" To this question KONO replied: "Naturally, I did not realize that it would be used for such purposes, but to tell you the truth, the Chief Secretary, as well as myself, have contributed a certain amount." Therefore, I (HARADA) told the Premier: "It is a very dangerous policy to contribute funds thoughtlessly and indiscriminately to strange people."

Then I met the Foreign Minister and the Welfare Minister at the House of Peers, but they did not have anything new to tell me. KIDO seemed a little concerned about the fund matter (previously mentioned) and his ideas coincided with mine.

When I called at the Palace of Prince CHICHIBU at 7:30, which was according to his summons, His Highness questioned me regarding the situation since I last saw him. Therefore, I made a general report basing it within the limits of my knowledge. I left the Palace a little after 10 o'clock and returned home.

On the morning of the 23rd, I (HARADA) went to see AOKI, Nobumitsu, at Ushigome and discussed the Electric Power Bill etc., with him and said: "For the sake of the government, the Premier said: 'Even if the bill is amended to a certain extent, to the satisfaction of the House of Peers, I would like to see the bill pass. Should it not pass, it will become a grave responsibility of the government. As there is not sufficient personnel among the Cabinet to promote the foregoing, I request that you (HARADA) request his (AOKI's) cooperation on the matter.' It is presumed that the Premier, himself, will speak

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to you directly on the matter but I (HARADA) wish to request that you (AOKI) spare no efforts." To this he (AOKI) replied: "It is a very difficult problem, but I'll try to do something."

When we came over to the Diet, Count SAKAI was also there and met with AOKI by chance. The three of us discussed the various phases of the foregoing bill (Electric Power).

Later, I (HARADA) met with the Chief Secretary and he also seemed worried about both bills. I also met KIDO and he discussed the foregoing as well as the different movements within the political parties. To Baron IWAKURA of the Kosei Kai, I requested that he use his influence and see to it that both bills are revised so that it would not be contrary to the Constitution and then have the Government come to an understanding.

I (HARADA) returned to Oiso on the eve of the 23rd and spoke to KONOE ~~in~~ ^{at} home on the morning of the 24th. I inquired after his health and found out that he still had fever and could not get up for a while. I cautioned him (KONOE) saying: "In any case, you are not too strong; therefore, take good care of yourself."

I then called the Foreign Minister to find out if anything had developed, but there was nothing new in particular.

On the afternoon of the 25th, I met Dr. SHIMIZU at the Kinsui and together with MATSUURA, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, discussed the constitutional interpretation of the National Mobilization Bill. Dr. SHIMIZU said: "Article 131 of the Constitution is altogether different from the encroachment upon the supreme powers issue and this bill of which the political parties are raising an issue. The interpretation in connection with SAITO's and MAKINO's criticism of the bill, was wrong. Only the fact that the greatness in the scope of the authorized law, might, to all intents and

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purposes, be looked upon as having disregarded the constitution. Careful attention must be given to these points."

In the afternoon, I met the Foreign Minister and he said: "I just issued instructions to Ambassador YOSHIDA to the effect: 'Meet with British Prime Minister Chamberlain and the new Foreign Minister and take the initial move from our side', but I have not received any answer as yet. A new Locarno Treaty has been concluded in Europe. Of the countries concerned, two nations, Italy and Germany, are in favor of going side by side with Japan. Therefore, it is expected that the effect on Japan will be indirectly favorable.

Then I met KIDO and he said: "There is a movement going on at present to unite the Minseito and the Seiyukai parties and to have KONOYE as its head. There are many who come to see me about the foregoing. Moreover, I had a leisurely talk with KONOYE yesterday and it seemed as though he was in deep thought. SUETSUKU has been going over to KONOYE and persuading him repeatedly saying: 'Well, in spite of the fact that the idea of a combined party organization is like trash, why don't you become its president?' However, KONOYE refused the foregoing. Depending on whether or not KONOYE accepts the presidency (of the to be combined party organization) will rest the fate of both parties. As it is vital that both parties be solidified, the atmosphere must be changed so that the opinion of the general public will be to the effect that KONOYE will accept the presidency. Nevertheless, there might be some who, after carrying matters thus far, have the intention of becoming the president themselves. Moreover, there might be others who are endeavoring to fulfill their ambition."

That night, I (HARADA) called KONOYE via phone and told him the foregoing story but he said: "I have no intention of

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accepting." I (HARADA) also notified him (KONOYE) what SUMIZU had said in regard to the National Mobilization Bill.

On the 26th, I again met KIDO and he remarked: "Much difficulty is being encountered in connection with the settlement of two important bills (National Mobilization and the Electric Power). For example, MAEDA and others have left the Minseito Party and have gathered fellows from the First Lobby as well as others and have organized a government party and are insisting that KONOYE become the President. Besides, I think it is AKIYAMA, but he also has come to KONOYE over and over again to ask him to head a party which he (AKIYAMA) is anxious to organize. Then, KONOYE, in general, has clearly stated to you (HARADA) and me (KIDO) that he has no intention of becoming the head of a political party but there are times when it seems that he (KONOYE) is not able to give a clear cut answer to AKIYAMA. That is why AKIYAMA went to HIRANUMA's place and stated: 'Should the two political parties combine, I am 99% certain that KONOYE will consent to become its head.' Therefore, HIRANUMA appears to be convinced that KONOYE will accept the position of president.

"SAKURAI, a member of the Minseito Party heard of this from HIRANUMA and greatly surprised, hurried to report this to MACHIDA. MACHIDA could not stand being left behind, therefore, remarked: 'If KONOYE accepts the position as President, I shall join him. Moreover, if KONOYE should become the head, I shall resign and readjust the Minseito Party. It would be perfectly all right with me to have it (Minseito Party) combine with the Seiyukai Party.' As a result, YAMAZAKI came rushing over to my residence and requested that I persuade KONOYE to accept the position as head (of the newly contemplated political party) without fail. I (KIDO) distinctly told YAMAZAKI: 'I

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feel that is unless even if I try to persuade him as KONOYE himself has no intention of accepting. In spite of this, KONOYE definitely feels that there is a necessity for the political parties to become united. Therefore, there is nothing else to be done but to start off with a representative committee."

Later, I (HARADA) met the War Minister and inquired: "Well, there are rumors that the War Vice Minister will change, etc. Is UMEZU going to be replaced?" The War Minister replied: "I do not have the slightest intention of replacing UMEZU."

I then spoke to MATSUDAIRA, Yasumasa, as to what had taken place up until now and later spoke to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal via phone.

When I met the War Minister not long ago, he said: "A few days ago, I was granted an audience with the Emperor at Hayama. His Majesty seemed to have improved greatly in health. His Majesty remarked: 'I have been thinking of going out to sea from today.'"

I met AOKI, Nobumitsu, and Count SAKAI at the Diet and talked with them on various topics. I also met KIDO and told him what AOKI, Nobumitsu, and Count SAKAI had to say.

Then, I spoke with Premier KONOYE on the phone as to what SAKAI and AOKI discussed with me. KONOYE still seemed downcast for he said: "I still have a slight fever."

I saw the Vice Minister at the Foreign Ministry and he inquired: "Have you heard about the Liaison Conference of February 14th?" Therefore, I (HARADA) replied: "What about it?" To this, the Vice Minister stated: "At the Liaison Conference of February 14, the Army said: 'It is impossible to attack Canton and Hankow in the near future. We shall go as far as the southern part of Shensi and along the Yellow

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River but we think it is impossible to advance as far as Suchow." The Navy is saying that it would like to advance its air base as far as Anking, but the Army is saying that it is impossible to go that far. The reason why they say it is impossible to carry out military operations as far as Anking lies in the fact that military preparations must be made against Russia. As a result the Navy is saying: 'It is not wise to continue as we are and extending the Incident into one of long term hostilities. On one hand, cessation of war should be attempted through diplomatic maneuvers and at the same time, our forces should be advanced without yielding an inch.' The foregoing is the Navy's stand and they say: 'Can Canton be attacked?, What about Hankow, Suchow, and Anking? Even in that event, nothing can be done. The reason is due to military preparations against Russia. Therefore, the Navy requested Prince FUSHIMI, the Chief of the Naval General Staff to inquire of Prince KAN-IN, the Chief of the Army General Staff: 'The Army repeatedly speaks of the Soviet relationship, but are we planning to wage war (against Russia)?' Prince KAN-IN denied the foregoing saying: 'There is no such thing planned.'

His Majesty, the Emperor, then asked the Minister of War: 'Is it possible to put into effect a simultaneous plan for long term hostilities, military preparations against Russia and the expansion of the Navy?' The Army Minister replied: 'I shall discuss the matter with the Cabinet and take the proper action.' The following day, His Majesty is said to have expressed his dissatisfaction with the above reply to Prince FUSHIMI, the Chief of the Naval General Staff.

"The Navy Minister YONAI expressed his desire to meet with the four ministers to discuss matters. At the meeting, the following was inquired of the Foreign Minister: 'If this situation could be settled by military might, could it be possible for

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Japan to become close associates with Great Britain through diplomatic means and then later use this as a means of drawing apart England from the CHIANG Kai Shek regime?' The Foreign Minister answered: 'If it is the aim of the government to become close associates with England, there are many ways of carrying it out. But first of all, the government shall have to decide on a definite stand. Of course, it will be inconvenient should the Army voice an objection. Therefore, how about the Army getting their opinions into shape.' The Foreign Minister requested this of the Minister of War, but so far, there has been no reply. Because of this, Vice Ministers UMEZU, YAMAMOTO and HORINOUCI are to be called together on the afternoon of the 28th and discuss the details of this matter further.

"A discussion came up at a Liaison Conference to the following effect: 'In order to change the foreign policy of Japan, it might be wiser to have the Foreign Minister resign once and replace him with some other minister.' KONOE then spoke up and said: 'I, too, would like to resign.' Everyone present dissuaded him saying: 'That is not right. It is unwise for you to say that you want to resign so hastily.' The foregoing was told by HORINOUCI.

I (HARADA) got on the one o'clock express for Okitsu and upon meeting the Prince, reported everything which had occurred. The Prince remarked: "It is impossible for SHIMIZU to understand the constitution (of Japan). He (the Prince) further stated: "The bills previously mentioned are, in substance, contrary to the Constitution. Therefore, it is better not to have it pass the Diet. Isn't there something that could be done?"

I (HARADA) rested at home on the 27th and the 28th and returning to Tokyo on the 1st, called on Premier KONOE at his Ogikubo residence and talked to him on various subjects. I told

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him: "The Prince (SAIONJI) was saying: 'It would be wise not to have the National Mobilization Bill go through.' To this, KONOYE replied: 'The Electric Power as well as the National Mobilization Bills are not urgent matters. To tell you the truth, they could have been cancelled.'" KONOYE continued: "Regarding the uniting of the two political parties, there are many who are continuously coming over to see me about it. I, of course, have no intention of becoming the head, but if I clearly answer that I shall not become the head, it might result in complications. Nevertheless, if I say that I'll accept, I shall have to take over. Therefore, I am in a dilemma. What does the Prince (SAIONJI) think of this? Please find out his opinions on the matter when you go to report to him. I would like to have the answer as soon as possible."

KONOYE also said: "KIDO came yesterday and we talked at length. He did not seem eager to persuade me to become the president when the political parties merged, but appeared to have had the feeling of not wanting to dissuade me altogether." I (HARADA) said to KONOYE: "I personally think that you should not become the president. If you intend to have the two political parties unite, do so and have MACFARLAND or other suitable persons represent you and you look on. Wouldn't this be better?" To this KONOYE replied: "All I care is to have both bills pass." I (HARADA) answered: "However, it is not necessary for you to become the president just for the purpose of having the two bills passed. In short, it will be unpleasant to have you resign as president shortly after the bills are passed, wouldn't it? My personal opinion is that it would be wiser for you to refrain from having anything to do with this matter."

In the afternoon, I (HARADA) met KIDO at the House of Peers and so I also spoke to him regarding the above matter.

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KIDO in turn told me of YAMAZAKI's visit with him and other matters similar to what KONOYE had already told me.

Count KODAMA told me that he wanted to see me (HARADA). Upon meeting him, he said: "Some time ago YAMAZAKI came to see me and remarked: 'Someone went to see HIRANUMA and HIRANUMA stated that Prince KONOYE will positively become the head of the combined political party. Therefore, it is not a matter of whether KONOYE will accept to become its head. At any rate, we shall begin immediately upon uniting the two political parties. HIRANUMA is convinced that upon conclusion of the merger, KONOYE will accept its presidency. Therefore, he shall exert his efforts towards that end.'"

I (HARADA) met with KIDO again and mentioned the foregoing saying: "It seems to me that AKIYAMA is being very active. He is determined on having KONOYE become the president and is advertising this fact. Thus, it is my opinion that if KONOYE should express his true intentions directly to HIRANUMA, he (KONOYE) will not be misinterpreted." To this KIDO remarked: "Why don't you mention this to KONOYE."

On the morning of the 2nd, I went to call on Navy Vice Minister YAMAMOTO at his official residence and questioned him on matters pertaining to various problems. He said: "It was decided at the Vice Ministers' meeting of the three ministries, the Army, Navy and the Foreign Ministry, that England would be utilized as much as possible and while we exerted our efforts to solve the matter through diplomatic means quickly, we would continue our attacks within the present limitations." With these words, I parted with Vice Minister YAMAMOTO.

The Premier gained public favor when he appeared before the Diet on the 2nd and answered questions as well as explained

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various matters. As a result, there was much rejoicing on the part of the Cabinet members, for the bills which were calculated to have a stormy passage appeared to have come into neutral waters.

Then I (HARADA) met with the Navy Minister and discussed the various phases in connection with the merging of the two great political parties. The Navy Minister seemed to have understood the situation very well.

I met Premier KONOYE at the Diet later and spoke to him of the conversation which took place between HIRANUMA and AKIYAMA as well as other details connected with it. I (HARADA) said: "After everything is completed, if they should ask you (Premier) in real earnest to become the president and a situation arises whereby it would be difficult for you to reject the offer, you will find yourself in a very uncomfortable situation. Therefore, wouldn't it be wise for you to send the Minister of Justice to HIRANUMA with a message saying: 'There are many scheming groups, but my intention is not to become the president; therefore, please bear this in mind.'" To my (HARADA) foregoing words, KONOYE replied: "That's absolutely true. I shall discuss the matter with SHIGENO. As a matter of fact, SHIGENO was saying something to that effect a while back. How would it be if we intimate that should the two parties unite, HACHIDA will become its president and by tacit consent, the reins of the government will go to him." I (HARADA) answered: "That is a very dangerous thing to do. Therefore, it is wiser to lay it aside."

KONOYE also said: "In connection with the succeeding cabinet, UGAKI's reputation is very unfavorable within Army circles. The General Staff Headquarters as well as the younger men of the Army are saying: 'The groups which are associating

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with UGAKI are those who are taking an attitude opposing the National Mobilization Bill.' The Minister of War remarked: 'UGAKI probably will not be able to take the political reins for some time to come.'"

I met the Chief Secretary and he also stated: "The state of affairs in today's Diet session was really annoying and beyond description. It would be terrible if a reign of terror should occur. After all, KONOYE is different from the rest of us. Therefore, should the two political parties unite and KONOYE become its head, untoward acts will not be permitted. In other words, I (Chief Secretary) will take the responsibility of seeing to it that nothing happens which will be against KONOYE's interest." Both the Chief Secretary and TAKI also want KONOYE to become the president when the two political parties are united. Therefore, it is said that they are taking action towards that end.

At noon, I met HOSHINO, the Commissioner General of Manchukuo and he said: "I think it would be a wise idea if the Premier stops criticising his Cabinet members, especially KAYA, as it eventually reaches our ears and makes matters unpleasant. In a recent audience with the Emperor at HAYAMA, His Majesty is said to have stated: 'When it comes to state affairs, the Premier handles them as though they are someone else's responsibility. Won't you please have the Finance Minister caution the Premier on this point?' By this, one can see that His Majesty is very much concerned." In other words, I (HARADA) presume that HOSHINO must have heard the foregoing from Vice Minister ISHIWATA. I have already warned KONOYE once before on this point but HOSHINO, I (HARADA) said: "I do not think that KONOYE heedlessly speaks to this and that person on such matters, but due to some unforeseen circumstances, it must have produced such a result. But there is no need of feeling so

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badly."

I learned of the various angles of the Manchukuo situation and HOSHINO said in part: "As long as the Japanese mainland remains composed and proceeds with its affairs, all will be well. Manchukuo is also gradually becoming subdued and progressing very well at the present time. As for the situation within the Army, it has no pivot (of operations) anywhere in Manchukuo and on the other hand, there is no sign of its being biased. Generally speaking, the situation of the Army has improved greatly. Even from the standpoint of the Minister, the present War Minister, Gen. SUGIYAMA, his Vice Minister, UMEZU, and the executive staff are very reliable when compared to KAWASHIMA, HAYASHI, ARAKI and others. It is impossible to locate someone better than the present War Minister within the military circles." HOSHINO expressed wholehearted devotion and sympathy towards SUGIYAMA and UMEZU. HOSHINO added: "The SUGIYAMA - UMEZU combination is getting along splendidly." I (HARADA) said: "I shall speak of the foregoing to the Premier."

Early on the morning of the 2nd, I appeared at Okitsu and upon meeting with the Prince, made my report. When I mentioned the problem of whether or not KONOYE would become the president of the combined political parties, he (the Prince) turned aside and laughed. The Prince retorted: "It is incredible to have such a problem brought to me for consultation. Such being the case, nothing will ever be settled. If the two political parties unite, it will still remain unstable." The Prince of course did not consent to KONOYE becoming the president and as we expected, opposed the whole idea saying that it is was not worth discussing.

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 265
(15 March 1938)

New Cabinet in Offing

Translated by Lt. Larry Nishihara

I returned to Tokyo and met Navy Vice Minister YAMAMOTO on the 5th. He said: "There have been no grave problems recently, but the fact that the Army does not settle down is very troublesome. If KONOYE should resign, I believe that Gen. UGAKI would be suitable. However, if the Army does not investigate this matter thoroughly and take a careful attitude, they will make a mess of UGAKI." I then said that I would look into this matter if I should meet Vice Minister UMEZU. Vice Minister YAMAMOTO concluded: "Since UMEZU is such a careful person, I believe that he will say that it is too early to bring up UGAKI."

The same afternoon, MATSUNO, Tsuruhei, visited me and said: "The merger of the political parties is an impossibility. Parties such as the Seiyukai and the Minseito, with their historical backgrounds, cannot dissolve so simply. Moreover, because the feeling for reform and the destruction of the status quo is generally strong today, there is no action on these matters. However, we have a secret understanding with the members of the Minseito to the effect, that although we will work in conjunction, we will not merge. In other words, we will not dissolve and then merge. On the surface, however, we are dealing otherwise."

I met Premier KONOYE at the House of Peers that afternoon and he said: "Of course, although they claim a merger, I will not be deceived. Excuse me, please." I then said: "If that is the case, then you must express your intentions to HIRANUMA at least. This is because the men in those circles believe that KONOYE will become the leader, if at all possible. Therefore, it will be very unpleasant should this matter be

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realized by error." KONOYE's reply to this was: "Do not worry about it. I will not become the leader." I continued: "As the result of my asking SUGIYAMA about the possibilities of Gen. UGAKI, he answered that UGAKI was not suitable. I have also spoken to you about this——." KONOYE said: "How about KIDO? How about a leading figure such as KIDO?" I replied that it was too early for KIDO as yet. Just then, KIDO came into the place where we were talking. I told KIDO: "I am hearing KONOYE's views concerning you, but I believe that it is a little too early for you to come out as yet. I believe that it would be well to come after some time. Just what do you think?" KIDO replied: "Of course, if I come out at the present time, I will not last for even 2 or 3 months. I will be attacked at once. No matter how this situation is looked at, it is not the time for me now." KIDO seemed very determined. I also related the question of MATSUNO, Tsuruhei, to KONOYE. It was whether UGAKI would become the president of the Seiyukai or not.

I returned to Oiso and was resting in the evening. There was a phone call from the villa of YAMASHITA and he asked me to come over. Gen. UGAKI, President AKASHI of the Dai Ichi Bank and YAMASHITA were there and we had a talk. I told them of various statements concerning Gen. UGAKI in an idle sort of way. I said: "There appears to be considerable movements to carry Gen. UGAKI, but I believe that the most suitable attitude for you to take would be to leave matters to run their own course."

I was again called into the Ministers' room at the House of Peers and met KONOYE. He said: "I would like to resign anyway. Wouldn't KIDO or HIROTA be all right? There are no bad points about HIROTA and there have been no failures."

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Again, there are no positively good points, but at the same time, there are no bad ones."

Later I met KIDO and when I related this to him, he said: "I have my doubts as to HIROTA just yet."

Later, I again met KONOYE in his room and YUKI, the Governor of the Bank of Japan was there. He said: "Liaison in economic undertakings between Shanghai, North China and the nation is bad and there must be some organ to unify this. Although I believe that IKEDA will be the man for this, isn't there anything the cabinet or the Foreign office can do?" The Cabinet desired to handle it themselves and the Foreign Ministry advocated that since this had diplomatic considerations, they wanted to handle it. However, since this diplomatic phase was for the main part, of an economic nature, and comparable to the relation that the Ministry of Commerce and Industry had with the problem, KONOYE insisted that the matter be left up to the Cabinet.

Either of these seem to be all right, but there is talk that the Navy and Foreign Ministries are opposed to leaving this matter up to the Cabinet. Therefore, I went to see the Vice Minister of the Navy YAMAMOTO to inquire into this. He said: "The Foreign Ministry is not opposed to leaving the matter up to the Cabinet, but there is the matter of the reputation of the Foreign Ministry and so it must be reasonable. Since this matter will have some relation with foreign nations, I also thought along that line; however, if economic reasons are the prime concern, that is a separate matter and it will be all right. It seems as if the Foreign Ministry is very concerned over the fact that after this has been left up to the Cabinet, the Army might recklessly undertake some actions concerning this. If this point is taken carefully,

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then it would be all right to leave it up to the Cabinet."

I returned to the Diet after having discussed such matters as the new party movement, etc. and there, I again met KIDO. He said: "There is a great deal being said, but we will have nothing to do with the new party."

Later, I again met KAWARADA and he said that KIDO should become the leader of the next Cabinet. However, I replied that it was too early for this.

When I met KIDO later, we discussed the following matters. I said: "There are people who, when meeting KIDO say: 'HARADA is saying that KOMEIYE is going to join the New Party Movement.' Whereas, newspapermen who come to me (HARADA) say: 'KIDO is very enthusiastic about the movement'. There seems to be an effort to sound out just how we feel about the New Party Movement by insinuating to each of us, in turn, that the other is supporting the Movement."

I met the Foreign Minister on the 9th and he said: "The Italian Ambassador came to my place and said: 'Italy will soon open negotiations with the British Government, but this will be limited to Ethiopian and Mediterranean problems. If this discussion should extend to the Far East, then we shall terminate all discussion. In other words, it is Italy's intention not to infringe upon Far Eastern problems. This conference is for the purpose of settling the outstanding problems between Italy and England. We intend to consult with Germany about this. Concerning the incident, France, Russia and other sources are spreading tales that the Italy-England conferences are for the purpose of discussing Far Eastern problems. Therefore, I (Foreign Minister) believe that the Italian Ambassador came to reassure the Japanese Government on this point. However, when I mentioned this at

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the cabinet council, this immediately came out in the following day's Yomiuri and Asahi. It goes to show that these matters cannot be mentioned at the cabinet councils and also that the intricacies of diplomatic affairs are very puzzling."

Later, I met Foreign Minister HIROTA again and he said: "Is the New Party going to be formed?" I replied that it was not, but it seems as if there are many persons who go to HIROTA and say that the New Party is going to be formed.

I met Minister of Agriculture and Forestry ARIMA later and inquired into the situation. He asked: "KONOYE will not join in the merger of the two parties, will he?" He seemed quite concerned and also said that he was dead set against KONOYE joining in the merger.

I met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal on the 9th and he said: "It will be very troublesome to have KONOYE resign. Premier KONOYE advised the Emperor: 'If I resign, a cabinet led by the President of the Minseito, MACHIDA, would be favorable.' I (Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal) believe that Gen. UGAKI would be the most suitable. However, according to the records of OKAWA, Shumei, he asked of UGAKI at the time of the March Incident: 'What do you propose to do if this plan should fail?' The reply was that he (UGAKI) would commit hara-kiri before the Emperor if it failed. If an open denial of this was made, it would improve matters a great deal." The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal concluded: "Gen. MINAMI is also very troublesome. HIROTA would be all right, but I have my doubts."

On the 11th, I went to Okitsu and reported these matters in detail to the Prince. He said: "It is really perplexing because the worst possible person has taken over the reins of government-----."

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I returned on the 11th and met KONOYE. He said: "I would like to resign at the end of this session at all costs." KAWARADA had been sent time and time again to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal to convey this intention.

KAWARADA came and the three (four) of us, KONOYE, KAWARADA, (KIDO) and myself discussed various subjects. KONOYE stated: "HIROTA would be fine and even KODAMA would do. How about MACHIDA?" To this, KIDO replied: "I believe that KODAMA would be good because he is so new. In any case, it will not last very long, so KODAMA would be suitable as a stopgap."

Later, I met OKUBO, Ritsu, on the floor of the Diet and he said: "How is the New Party Movement coming along? It would be fine if it can be done. However, it would be better if KONOYE would not take over immediately, but to have someone else do it and for KONOYE to work through him." Baron IWAKURA was also of the same opinion.

I met Premier KONOYE on the 13th and he said: "Regarding the Electric Power and National Mobilization Bills, I am not too concerned over the former, but National Mobilization Bill must pass. This bill was amended from the original and presented after a compromise in the Seiyukai and although they claim that this bill has not been amended, there are many points which differ from those in the original bill."

On the 13th, I went to Oiso and met IKEDA, Seihin. He said: "The economic undertakings in China, specifically those in Shanghai, are a source of trouble because the Chekiang Financial Clique is not participating in the matter of exchange as expected. However, there has been a report from MUMAKATA that the English system banks seem to be cooperating." IKEDA asked me to convey this fact to KIDO and KAWARADA.

Later, I met KIDO and when I mentioned KODAMA's story,

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he said: "If it cannot be helped, there is no other way, but I am still discussing the matter of HIRANUMA with KONOYE. Therefore, I believe that when I meet SHIONO, I am going to present the name of HIRANUMA and then later, mention KONOYE. I am thinking of talking this matter over with SHIONO."

Still later, I met the Governor of the Bank of Japan, YUKI, and he said: "There is no other way but to have the Imperial Command given to KONOYE again. Whether we look at it from the standpoint of foreign relations or from that of reorganization, there is no other possible way but to have KONOYE once again receive the Imperial Command."

Furthermore, I went to the Diet and met Foreign Minister HIROTA. I inquired into the situation after the succession of the new cabinet, but there had been no great changes. Foreign Minister HIROTA said: "It would be very troublesome if KONOYE should resign now. I would like things to proceed with either a reorganization or another Imperial Command."

When I mentioned this to KIDO, he said: "Regarding the matter of another Imperial Command, it seems as if NAGAI will leave the party and resign if the Electric Power Bill does not pass. This does not mean that KONOYE will be held responsible for this bill. If KONOYE should resign at the time NAGAI presents his resignation, then such a thing as another Imperial Command will happen——."

Later, when I met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, I mentioned the matter of KODAMA and other things. He said: "It would be very troublesome should KONOYE resign now." In general, the attitude that it would be very troublesome should KONOYE resign at the present time, seems to be prevalent; however, the determination of KONOYE to resign is much stronger than has been imagined.

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Chapter 266
(27 March 1938)

Army Versus Navy in Formosa

Translated by Lt. Fujio Asano

On the evening of the 15th, we were invited to Marquis HOSOKAWA's along with Marquis and Marchioness KIDO and Prince and Princess KONOYE. We discussed many matters while dining. It seemed that both KIDO and KONOYE were rather troubled by Admiral SUETSUGU, the Home Minister. According to their talk, they seemed also very vexed by TAKI, Masao, the President of the Planning Bureau.

I returned home early because I planned to go to Okitsu by the night-train to see Prince SAIONJI. I phoned the War Minister and talked with him for a short while. The War Minister, SUGIYAMA said: "I would like the present Cabinet to carry on as long as possible."

Late in the evening of the 15th, I left for Shizuoka by train and stayed overnight in Shizuoka at an inn. On the morning of the 16th, I went to see Prince SAIONJI and made a detailed report to him. I told him also what Premier KONOYE thought and felt about the present political situation. Prince SAIONJI was very sympathetic and appreciative towards KONOYE. Prince SAIONJI said: "I think KONOYE's mood might change when the Diet session is over. His task as Premier is certainly difficult and I feel sorry for him. Nevertheless, nothing can be done about it. KONOYE is, however, really doing his task well."

Prince SAIONJI said with a grave and sad countenance: "I'm probably saying this because I've aged. The following might occur after I die. Should the present day situation prevail for a long time, one can't predict what will occur in Japan. The history of Japan includes many abominable incidents. For instance, Emperor SUIZEI (591 B.C.) who

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succeeded Emperor JIMMU had in reality assassinated his elder brother and usurped the Throne. Needless to say, I believe firmly that this sort of thing -- the willful assassination of an elder brother by a younger brother for the purpose of usurping the Throne--will never happen. But, nevertheless, should persons surrounding the younger brother machinate for such an end, the outcome would be unpredictable. There have been many examples of this sort in the history of both Japan and China. I wouldn't think any of the present members of the Imperial family (Prince CHICHIBU or Prince TAKAMATSU) would ever do such a thing. Nevertheless, lest such an incident occur in the future, precautions should be taken from the present time." Prince SAIONJI did not make any comment about the fact that Prince KONOYE was undecided whether to resign from his post or not.

On the 17th, I again met KONOYE. He said: "I want to resign when the present Diet session is over." I (HARADA) said: "Why not remain in the succeeding Cabinet as a Cabinet Councillor (Sangi)?" To this KONOYE answered: "Of course, if it's the post of a Cabinet Councillor (Sangi), I'll gladly remain."

On the same day, I met KIDO. He said: "KAWARADA, Kakichi is frequently visiting the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, YUASA, Kurahei. Please admonish him because certain persons are making conspicuous comments about this fact." I (HARADA) answered: "I'll admonish KAWARADA immediately."

When I met the War Minister, Gen. SUGIYAMA, he said: "Persons surrounding Gen. UGAKI are clearly anti-militaristic; they also thought to bear great ill-feeling towards the military. I'm worried over the fact that should UGAKI now be recommended to succeed KONOYE as Premier, this would further aggravate the resentment of the military towards him. The only possible

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alternative is have KONOYE again form a Cabinet by order of the Emperor and change his Cabinet set-up."

YUKI, Toyotaro, the Governor of the Bank of Japan, urged: "Should the KONOYE Cabinet resign, it will be very harmful to the diplomatic confidence of foreign countries towards Japan. We must have the KONOYE Cabinet stay in office and carry on. From the view point of the financial circles, the resignation of KONOYE would be most unfavorable for the nation as a whole."

On the 20th, Admiral NOMURA came to my home at Oiso. In the course of our talk, he asked: "Isn't Premier KONOYE going to resign after the present Diet session?" To this I answered: "I don't think so."

In the evening of the same day (27th), I returned to Tokyo. IWAKURA telephoned me and said: "Because there is a movement to expel Admiral KOBAYASHI, the Governor-General of Taiwan, from his post, KATO, Kyohei, the President of Taiwan Takushoku (Taiwan Colonization Co.) has come to Tokyo (to clarify the situation in behalf of Admiral KOBAYASHI). KATO says he wants to see you and discuss this matter with you. Tomorrow morning, I shall bring KATO and WATANABE, a member of the House of Peers, to your home in Tokyo."

In the morning of the 21st, IWAKURA, WATANABE and KATO came to my Tokyo home. Various matters were discussed such as: "The movement for expelling Admiral KOBAYASHI from his post is in reality, a plot on the part of young Army staff-officers for replacing the Governor-General with an Army man. As a preliminary step towards seizing the post for the Army, the Staff-officers are maneuvering to discredit Admiral KOBAYASHI. For instance, when the Chinese made an air-raid on Taiwan some time ago, the Taiwan Army staff-officers said:

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'The Taiwan Governor-General is responsible (for not being able to prevent the air-raid).' Though the responsibility of the air-raid really rested with the Taiwan Army, they are laying the blame on the Governor-General who is not responsible for the military defense of Taiwan. From the standpoint of national defense, the Commander-in-Chief of the Taiwan Army should shoulder the responsibility; and further, it could be said that the responsibility rests with the Chief of the General Staff. Admiral KOBAYASHI hasn't been able to realize his plan for establishing rice as a Government monopoly, a plan which he wanted to execute as soon as he assumed his post. He has had to cope with many problems since he came in office; -- during his 2 years in office, the China Incident and many other things have occurred--and preoccupied with these matters, KOBAYASHI naturally couldn't institute the Government monopoly of rice. Because of criticisms made against him for the above reasons, the Governor-General is rather worried." I (HARADA) told KATO, Kyohei: "The Governor-General, Admiral KOBAYASHI, must remain in office unperturbed and take his time in doing good work."

In the morning of the 22nd, I met the Navy Vice Minister. He said: "Some time ago, Vice Admiral YAMAJI came and talked about a plan for organizing a South China Economic Survey Commission with Viscount INOUE, Kyoshiro as Chairman. The chief persons planning this project are the staff-officers of the Taiwan Army and officers of the rank of Lt. Col. are intently promoting this plan. Immediately after Chinese territories were occupied, economic operations should have been immediately instituted, but this was not done. This may be attributed to the fact that economic investigations and research were lacking. The staff-officers of the Taiwan

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Army are desirous of forming an organization for the purpose of starting economic investigations. I (Navy Vice Minister) told Vice Admiral YAMAJI: 'Why don't the staff-officers who are planning to organize such a commission present a petition to the Commander-in-Chief of the Taiwan Army or to the General Staff Headquarters and have them in turn, present their plan to the Government? It is embarrassing for the Navy to have a person like you, a reserve Vice-Admiral, become involved in a matter like this in which you are being used as a tool by the staff-officers of the Taiwan Army. I, as the Navy Vice Minister am entirely opposed to this sort of action on your part. This is extremely embarrassing for the Navy.' When Vice Admiral YAMAJI heard this, he left without saying anything further."

Vice Minister of the Navy YAMAMOTO concluded: "Sometime after Vice Admiral YAMAJI's visit, documents petitioning the above plan were presented to the Navy Ministry; however, the Minister and the Vice Minister did not give their approval to it. They were rejected and the rejected petition was transmitted to the office of the Governor-General of Taiwan. The petition was on its way to Taiwan when KATO, the President of Taiwan Takushoku, was en route to Tokyo. I think the Governor-General, Admiral KOBAYASHI, must have seen it by now. When he saw it, he must have realized that the Navy doesn't give support to such a plan. The Governor-General and his friends will probably be calmed down by it."

At noon, I again met Premier KONOYE at the Diet Building. He spoke at length on the problem of choosing a succeeding Cabinet and said: "I'm going to resign when the present Diet session is over." I told him: "I'll more or less explain your wishes to Prince SAIONJI."

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On the 20th, I met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and he said: "It will be troublesome should Premier KONOYE resign because there is no suitable person to succeed him. HIROTA and KODAMA are mentioned as possible candidates but I don't think they are acceptable."

On the 23rd, I met KIDO and KONOYE. KONOYE said: "I want to resign by all means."

On the 24th, I went to Okitsu and visited Prince SAIONJI. In the evening of the same day, I returned to Tokyo and went to the Diet. There was quite a turmoil over the Electricity Nationalization Bill. I was asked by the Government to help in securing passage of the Bill and exerted my efforts to realize that end. I again met KONOYE and he asked: "What did Prince SAIONJI say about my wish to resign?" I answered: "Prince SAIONJI would make no answers whatsoever when I broached the matter of your resignation." KONOYE said: "This is vexing."

In the meantime, KODAMA Hideo, as Chairman of the House of Peers' Electricity Nationalization Bill Committee, committed a serious blunder when the bill was put to a vote at the committee meeting. Consequently, the reputation of KODAMA suffered greatly and he naturally had to be eliminated as a possible candidate as the succeeding premier. As a result, of this, only HIROTA was left as a possible candidate for premier. However, different quarters were saying that HIROTA is also unacceptable as the succeeding premier. This sort of news was naturally reaching the ears of KONOYE. Therefore, KONOYE has resigned himself to the idea that should he be able to weather the present Diet session, he might as well carry on until sometime in the future.

The 25th passed uneventfully and about 12 o'clock of the

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26th, the Electricity Bill, amended by the joint committee of both Houses, was passed by a small margin and the 78th Diet session was over.

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Chapter 267
(5 April 1938)

Cabinet Timber Studied

Translated by Sgt. Sadaki Teshima

Before I (HARADA) left for Okitsu on the 28th, the Chief Secretary of the House of Peers mentioned that there were 12 items of the budget which totalled 70 million and 7 ex post facto bills. In other words, these were expenditures from the reserve fund. Besides these there were 86 bills. The three most important problems in regard to government policy were the National Mobilization Plan, Electricity Bill and the Agricultural Bill which became the subject of much discussion. Although the conference was extended another day because of this, the proposals went before a joint session of both Houses and were passed.

TAGUCHI, the Chief Secretary of the House of Representatives, said: "Although the present Diet was a boisterous one, the Diet members as a whole were indulgent because of the popularity of Prince KONOYE and of the state of affairs. Consequently, the bills were passed."

Within the Diet, there were requests for the selection of an Education Minister. It was KONOYE's intention to have KIDO remain as Welfare Minister and bring in a new Education Minister. However, the selection of a man was very difficult and, as yet, the situation remains the same.

On the 29th, after the Imperial dinner, I (HARADA) met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal in the Palace. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal said: "It is indeed distressing if Prince KONOYE should resign."

I (HARADA) was in the Palace when Premier KONOYE was received in audience by His Majesty, the Emperor. I met KOJIMA (a member of the House of Peers) and he said: "In the present Cabinet, there's hardly anyone we can call a statesman

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besides the Premier. Anyway we look at it, there's no one that measures up to being a statesman in the Cabinet, or even among the Director of the Bureau of Legislation, the Chief of the Planning Board and the Chief Secretary. We must change the Chief Secretary."

On the 29th, I met KONOYE and he said: "A little while ago, I (KONOYE) had an audience with His Majesty the Emperor, and spoke on various matters. The substance of my talk was: 'It is an extremely difficult thing for a dreamy person like myself, who is popular yet has no power, to take charge of affairs indefinitely. I believe that it is more suitable to have a capable person take over the post.'"

When I met KONOYE on April 1, he said: "The fact is, the War Minister flew unexpectedly to North China the day before yesterday and didn't even tell us as to his purpose in going there. Only the Navy Minister, the Foreign Minister and I know of the War Minister's departure to North China and it is being kept a secret from the other Cabinet Ministers. Most of the Army's undertakings are similar to this. For example, the Army even has their say in the selection of president of the proposed national companies to be established in North and Central China. It would be perfect if they could locate a man to their liking. If not, they would have the government locate one and in the event of any mishaps, place the entire responsibility on the government. It is a very distressing situation because it has been the attitude of the Army to absolve themselves of any responsibility in the event of mishaps. Therefore, we are indeed likened to mannequins and it is a very dangerous situation. There is no alternative but to have someone, who is aware of the weak points or able to take control of them, hold the reins. UGAKI is still

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probably the best bet. If UGAKI is undesirable, then the President of the Minseitō should be made the Premier and UGAKI, necessarily, a cog in it."

KONOYE also said: "Some time ago, when I requested an audience with His Majesty the Emperor; that is, the time when I (KONOYE) went to the Palace to pay my respects to His Majesty before I left on a trip, I said to the Emperor: 'A person like myself is practically considered a mannequin and since I'm not even informed of the situation and led away by others, I'm greatly distressed.' I also mentioned the matters pertaining to the Army. The Emperor replied: 'Since you have been respected by the Army from before, should you give advice to the Army, wouldn't the Army follow it?'"

KONOYE continued: "There is no alternative but to have a merger of the parties. The fact of the matter is that there have been rumors to the effect that the posts of Welfare and Education Minister be held separately. However, since that would entail difficulties, I said to KIDO: 'Let's not have those posts held separately for awhile and continue as we are.' Then, KIDO came over to my place this morning and suggested that ADACHI become the Welfare Minister." I (HARADA) told KONOYE: "Don't you believe that ADACHI is unsuited for that post?" KONOYE replied that it could not be helped because there was no one else.

I (HARADA) then told KONOYE: "If ADACHI were appointed Welfare Minister, it might prove troublesome. Therefore, I hope that KIDO will remain as the Welfare Minister and have the Chief Cabinet Secretary appointed to the post of Education Minister. ISHIWATA, the Finance Vice Minister, should be appointed to the post of Chief Cabinet Secretary since you are classmates and very close. Furthermore, as I have stated

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previously, it would be advantageous to the government in the planning of government policies should the Chief Cabinet Secretary be selected from among the bureaucracy." KONOYE replied that he would consider the matter.

Then I (HARADA) went home and phoned KIDO: "It is said that you recommended ADACHI for the position of Welfare Minister, but don't you think ADACHI is unqualified for that position?" KIDO replied: "I'm not insisting that ADACHI be appointed to the position; however, I did since people insist that someone has to fill the position. I am not too much in favor of it." Then I (HARADA) concluded: "You (KIDO) should remain as the Welfare Minister and I think it is better to put a new man in the position of Education Minister."

When I met the Vice Minister of the Navy, he said: "When the executive officer and other members of the Panay were en-route home from China, they stopped in Tokyo and have been summoned to the American Embassy from noon today. As a result, I am to represent the Navy Minister. Therefore, the various complications regarding the Panay Incident should be settled." Then upon leaving the official residence of the Navy Minister, I (HARADA) paid a call on the Minister of Foreign Affairs. He said: "Although the Alaskan fishing problem became a thorn in Japanese-American relations, Japan yielded and decided not to fish in Alaskan waters. The United States became overjoyed and was favorably impressed. Even Ambassador GREW has proposed that America will be glad to help out on any matters regarding China, so if there should be anything----- The feelings of the United States toward Japan has improved."

The Foreign Minister continued: "SHIMADA Toshio of the Seiyukai came and said: 'In the future, in order to have the government become stabilized, relations with the political

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parties must be improved. Therefore, it is desirable that person either from the Minseito or the Seiyukai be selected for Cabinet posts. Therefore, we would like to have two more individuals from the political parties included in the Cabinet. I intend to speak to the Premier on this matter."

Regarding foreign policy, Foreign Minister HIROTA said: "The Italian Ambassador is supplying us with information concerning CHIANG Kai Shek, but it appears that CHIANG is very persistent. Relations with North and Central China are progressing very smoothly and it appears as if the economic understanding with England is also progressing well. Therefore, there is no alternative but to do all we can at the present time."

I (HARADA) went to Okitsu on the night of the 1st and waited for a day before seeing the Prince due to his illness. I was finally able to see the Prince on the 3rd and reported matters to him. The Prince said: "It is said that His Majesty told KONOYE that the Army would listen to KONOYE because of the respect the Army has for him. If that is the case, why didn't KONOYE tell His Majesty who is the Commander-in-Chief to speak to the Army which would be more effective." The Prince was very amused.

Recently, there was a phone call from Tokyo and the conversation was that it was planned to leave KIDO in the position of Education Minister and appoint a new Welfare Minister. I (HARADA) wanted to have KIDO resign from his post as the Education Minister and appoint him as Welfare Minister. I (HARADA) thought it was more suitable to appoint a new man for the post of Education Minister since the Education Ministry will not improve unless a person capable of reform is selected. Since he (KIDO) could not bring about

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educational reform even if he should remain as the Education Minister. If KIDO failed to accomplish anything in this post, he would gain a bad reputation. KIDO had reluctantly said: "I believe it is much more advisable for me to remain as Welfare Minister and have a new Education Minister appointed."

I (HARADA) immediately went home and related the story to KONOYE on the phone. He (KONOYE) planned to leave on the 4th to worship at the Ise Shrine and the Momoyama Imperial Mausoleum and return on or about the 7th. When I (HARADA) called him, KONOYE said: "I've postponed my trip due to a cold. I called off my visit to Prince SAIONJI."

Later, I (HARADA) went back to Oiso to rest for one or two days. KONOYE was still confined in bed with a cold. Regarding the matter of the present War Minister's trip to North China; the suspicious matter from previous talks with the War Minister, appears to be that he (War Minister) went to Peking, in other words, to North China on an important personnel problem. So, there is a possibility that people will think he (War Minister) personally called on TERAUCHI, the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces in China to have him relieved from his post. Though I (HARADA) informed KONOYE of this matter over the phone, it appeared that KONOYE, as yet, has not met the War Minister since his return from China.

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Chapter 268
(9 April 1938)

Konoye Want To Resign

Translated by Lieut. Larry Nishihara

I (HARADA) returned to Tokyo late in the evening of the 5th. I phoned the War Minister early in the morning of the 6th and he asked: "What is the attitude of the Premier these days?" I replied to the War Minister: "I was thinking of calling you, but after you had left saying that you would go to North China, the Premier lost heart and it was very difficult to pacify him. The reason for this was that just before you left for North China, you should have informed the Premier as to your intentions for going there. However, you did not, and the Premier claimed that the War Minister left without saying anything and that the administration would have to bear the responsibility; a situation which was quite unbearable. The Premier also claimed that he could not conduct affairs of state in such a manner. We were quite perplexed and I told the Premier: 'It must have been on some military affairs. He probably left without saying anything, because of the fact that all military affairs are left to the discretion of the War Minister and he thought that it would be just as well if he informed you after his return.' After you return, you must meet the Premier and gain his understanding after explaining things." The War Minister said that he would go to see him immediately and that he would do something about the matter.

Later, I went to see KIDO and after explaining matters concerning the War Minister, inquired into the situation. KIDO said: "I met KONOYE yesterday. KONOYE said: 'I will

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be no good at this rate.' I then said: 'At any rate, you must reorganize and carry on until at least September or October. It will be very bad to have you resign now.'"

KIDO continued: "I also told KONOYE that when Finance Minister KAYA came to my place, he said: "Things cannot go on as they are. In order to bring about a reorganization, we shall hand in our resignation. I (KAYA) am quite annoyed at the handling of personnel by SUETSUGU so we must change that with such prominent men as UGAKI, IKEDA or YUKI. At any rate, we must retain KONOYE for the present. I (KAYA) am hopeless and if I am asked to remain, then I shall serve as a Vice-Minister or something. The Finance Minister must be changed.' I (KIDO) told all this to KONOYE yesterday, but he did not seem too enthusiastic about this. It seemed his intention that he wanted to resign immediately. Therefore, please arrange it so that he will not resign now and soothe him in some way."

On my return from KIDO's place, I visited the private residence of the President of the Bank of Japan and inquired about the health of IKEDA. It seemed as if IKEDA's health was gradually improving. President YUKI of the Bank of Japan was very concerned over the future and also of the situation of the financial circles for the latter half of the year. He also said that a foreign policy must be decided upon and was quite insistent about this.

On the way home from there, I visited IKEDA. I just intended to leave my card there, but Mrs. IKEDA came out and said: "IKEDA wishes to see you and has been waiting for some time." I consented to this and was ushered into IKEDA's room. He was also quite concerned

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over financial matters and also the relationship between the Army and foreign policy. He said: "Economic undertakings should be made the core and our foreign policy should be set. Let us arrange it so that the Army will remove their hands away from such affairs. There are some men within the Army itself who favor such a plan. UGAKI, YUKI and myself are of the same opinion. We would like to make some sort of arrangement in this vein. This matter of KONOYE resigning is definitely bad. There is a need for reorganization of the Cabinet."

Early that afternoon, I visited the sick-bed of KONOYE at Ogikubo and spoke with him for about two hours. KONOYE said: "Just a while ago, the War Minister came and was very apologetic. It seemed as if he was very regretful over the fact that I was angry with him." I (HARADA) then told him that I had threatened him over the telephone this morning and he accepted this. KONOYE said: "It seems as if there is something behind the North China problem, but he (War Minister) said to me: 'The new administrative power is not firm so I went there to talk over this matter. I really wanted to stop over at Shanghai, but time did not permit. If there is anything for me, I shall come over immediately. Please feel free to call on me.'" I also heard the details of the conversation between KIDO and KONOYE. KONOYE said: "I am not in agreement with it. If there is any suitable person, I would like to resign immediately."

I went home and visited Navy Minister YONAI that night. I related the following to the Navy Minister which was included in a letter from Governor-General KOBAYASHI of Taiwan: Governor-General KOBAYASHI was not very

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concerned over the attacks upon himself, neither from the younger staff members among the Army Headquarters and the Government-General nor other sources. He was also aware that this was not such an important matter. It seemed as if KATO, Kyohei became overly excited because of the fact that he was such an amateur and regardless of his good intentions, the Governor-General was quite inconvenienced. The Governor-General had always advocated: "First of all, the military must not participate in government. Secondly, civil officials and other civilians must not interfere with military operations. Therefore, those soldiers who had desired to participate in government were dissatisfied, probably due to this reason. Furthermore, it can be imagined that young officials and other civilians had recklessly said this and that concerning the dispatching of soldiers. The conflict between the Army and the Navy dates far back and is not of recent origin. Therefore, this feeling cannot be said to have been intensified. Do not be concerned over my sentiments in this matter. Before we deal with the China Incident, I would like to have the matter of the dispatching of troops to South China settled. If the future of Taiwan is considered as a responsibility by the people in office at present, this is a very necessary thing. The situation cannot be saved unless troops are dispatched to South China. Although this is not the time to say this and that, it is a fact that I earnestly desire that efforts be made along this line." I related the above to the Navy Minister and he seemed to be in agreement with those statements. However, he said: "The Air Forces would be best suited for that purpose."

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On the morning of the 7th, I met the Foreign Minister and listened to his views. He said: "The War Minister has gone to North China to observe matters in detail and the Deputy Chief of the Army General Staff has gone to North Manchukuo to observe the situation at the USSR-Manchukuo border. After their return, there seems to be considerable similarity of opinions between the War Ministry and the General Staff and they have said: 'We must join the lines in the south and the north and then change to the defensive. We must not change to the defensive after taking half-hearted actions.' Therefore, the opinions of the Deputy Chief of the General Staff, before and after his trip to China, are quite different. In the end, matters will probably be settled after the Grand Imperial Headquarters convenes once more and arrives at a positive plan." Furthermore, there was nothing important mentioned about the English-American problem and I did not remain long at the Foreign Minister's place.

In the evening of the 8th, Prince CHICHIBU was to appear at the residence of HOSOKAWA, and KIDO and myself were invited there. We all had supper together and while we were discussing various matters, Prince CHICHIBU mentioned that the right wing was very insolent and wondered whether anything could be done about the matter. KONOYE was also scheduled to attend this meeting, but he could not come due to his cold. His Highness, Prince CHICHIBU, was quite concerned over KONOYE.

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Chapter 269
(18 April 1938)

Saionji Opposes Resignation

Translated by Lieut. Larry Nishihara

I visited the Foreign Minister on the 10th and inquired into various matters. The Foreign Minister said: "There is nothing of importance in the matter of diplomatic relations, but the right-wing is doing many things under disguise. This is quite a dangerous problem and the Metropolitan Police Board is exercising great caution." I called up the Chief of the Metropolitan Police Board and inquired into this matter, but there was nothing definite.

I met KIDO later and I asked: "I am going to KONOYE's place at noon. Isn't there anything which I should especially inquire about?" He told me to give him a little encouragement.

I went to KONOYE's place together with MATSUDAIRA, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and we had lunch together. KONOYE said: "Wouldn't there be anyone else to change to if Okitsu (SAIONJI) was consulted. I would like to resign."

There seems to be a lack of control within the Army and there are cases where the Army has reported incidents after they have happened and extreme cases, where they have not even been reported. At any rate, it seems as if there was dissatisfaction over the irresponsible actions of the Army. When I had previously met KIDO, he told me: "SHIONO said: 'HIRANUMA will surely accept if he receives an Imperial Command.' It seems as if he will accept this time." It seems as if this bit of information had also reached KONOYE.

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I (HARADA) said: "Such actions as to resign now shows lack of discretion and also irresponsibility." KONOYE replied that it was very distressing not to know how long this was to continue. At any rate, it is a fact that his health is poor and it seems as he was weary of the whole affair. From one point of view, this is not wholly unreasonable. I parted with the words: "If a man such as yourself, who has won the popular acclaim of the people and has conducted the Diet so successfully, should resign because of a slight illness or something, especially when things appear to be settling down, you will disillusion the people. Not only that, but you will also aggravate the situation."

Under the leadership of ITO, Bunkichi and Count MIZOGUCHI, there was a gathering at the residence of IWAKURA at Sumidagawa to offer words of comfort to Premier KONOYE. However, Premier KONOYE was ill and did not attend. Men such as the Imperial Household Minister, MUSHAKOJI, OTANI, YOSHINO, KIDO, et al were in attendance. They all unanimously hoped for the recovery of the Premier and also for his continuing in office.

On the 11th, I again met the Foreign Minister and he said that the Army had permitted a plane to fly over the Russo-Manchukuo border and that it had made an emergency landing. He (Foreign Minister) also mentioned that the Japanese Army had made a great miscalculation at the battle of Taiachchwang and had suffered considerable losses. They had prohibited the publication of newspapers, but it is suspected that there were about 4000 casualties and that another 500 men and a considerable number of cannons had been captured. It seems as if the

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Army is quite concerned over the matter. This concerned the ISOGAI and ITAGAKI units.

Later, I met KIDO, and he said: "I met SHIONO and he seemed quite dissatisfied with SUETSUGU. He said that SUETSUGU was not suitable."

On the 12th, I phoned Vice-Minister YAMAMOTO and inquired into the results of the Chongsha air raid which the papers had been playing up. YAMAMOTO said: "I cannot believe that CHIANG Kai-shek or T.V. SOONG were killed."

I attended the general assembly of the Koseikai that day and met IWAKURA. He had just returned from Taiwan and was discussing the trend there. However, the attitude of the Governor-General was the same as that expressed in a previous letter.

Just when MUNAKATA, MATSUDAIRA and myself were to start our meeting and begin our conversation, MORIOKA came to join us. MORIOKA reported on the considerable efforts of MUNAKATA in Shanghai and was full of respect for him. He reported that Japan might participate in the joint accounts of the English bankers who are cooperating with the Chekiang Financial Clique. Also, that progress is being made for the use of English capital for Japanese undertakings.

I went to Okitsu late the night of the 12th. On the morning of the 13th, I called KIDO and asked what had happened during his visit with KONOYE the evening before and learned that nothing out of the ordinary had happened. KIDO said that he would like to visit the Prince on the morning of the 21st.

I phoned IKEDA, Seihin and inquired into the situation. IKEDA said that the Chinese problem was bad and

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he seemed very worried. Later, I called up the Foreign Minister and he said that conditions in Szechow were not very good and he was also quite worried over the defeat at Tai'erhchwang.

At 10:30 on the 13th, I went to see the Prince and reported on conditions since my last visit. I also informed the Prince of the persistent wish of KONOYE to resign. I had informed the Prince several times of the attitude of KONOYE and that he desired to resign as soon as possible, but there had not been an answer from the Prince before. However, this time, he said: "I believe that even a rumor that the Cabinet would resign would not be very favorable now and it is absurd for KONOYE to say that he is going to resign. First of all, if his health is poor, he should take such appropriate matters as moving away in order to restore his health and setting up a Premier 'ad interim' and should return after sufficient recuperation. There is probably no other way than to go on as we are at the present. There are those who discuss the matter of the Imperial command being given to him again, but that will be quite difficult. At any rate, if only the Education Minister resigns, matters must be settled by inconspicuously replacing him with another man. Even if KIDO should come on the 21st and discuss this matter, I will have no alternative. I have many desires, but even if I should express them, they cannot possibly be realized. Therefore, even if he should come to discuss the matter with me, it will be of no avail."

The Prince continued: "It is not a very good thing for the Premier to say things which would bother the officials or for the administration to show such an

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attitude. It would be a very difficult matter were either the political parties or the Army to come out to facilitate administrative matters. If such is to be the case, then it is necessary that the officials should not be bothered and that they should be encouraged. If I were in better health, I would like to aid KONOYE and do as much as I can for him. However, since my health is so poor, it will be very difficult. Therefore, it is necessary to have the Emperor come out a little stronger against the resignation of KONOYE. We must be very careful in the selection of the time this is to be done; however, please have the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal convey to the Emperor that SAIONJI's opinion is such. It is very troublesome because there seems to be a movement to overthrow the Cabinet somewhere."

I returned to Oiso on the afternoon train. I called KIDO and told him: "The Prince believes that even if you came on the 21st, it might stir up the public. Not only this, but he believes that nothing can be accomplished if you did come, so might it not be better if you did not come?" KIDO replied: "I disagree, I believe that it would be advisable for me to see the Prince immediately. There is nothing specific I wish to ask him and I do not mean to inconvenience him in any manner. Therefore, please inform the Prince: 'If it does not inconvenience you in any way, I would like to consult you on the general situation because I have not met you since my assumption of office. I would like to visit you at all costs on the 21st.'"

I immediately called the Prince and he said: "If that is the case, then I shall meet him at 10:00 o'clock

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on the 21st." I conveyed this news to KIDO.

I went to Tokyo early on the morning of the 15th and met the Minister and the Vice-Minister of the Navy at the official residence of the Navy Minister. I informed them as to the opinions of the Prince and also told them: "I would like to have the Minister speak to KONOYE about this also." The Navy Minister replied: "The Prince's words are reasonable and they are quite true." He was quite worried and added: "Just what do they propose to do about China? In diplomatic as well as other matters, they are advancing matters without consulting us and before we are aware of what is happening, they are making decisions upon them. We must do something about this. When the War Minister returns, I want the Premier and the War Minister brought closer together and have it arranged so that everything will be decided upon at the cabinet councils."

Later, at around 11:00, I went to KONOYE's place and informed him as to what the Prince had said. KONOYE said: "If that is the case, then, shall we set up a Premier 'ad interim'?" I also told KONOYE that the Prince had said: "If there are several unsuitable state ministers, then according to the authority vested in the Premier, they should be changed with the permission of the Emperor. At any rate, do it with more spirit." I also explained in detail of the matter of moving to another location and also of recuperating. We had lunch together and just when I was leaving at around 2:00 p.m., Justice Minister SHIONO came in.

At around 4:00 p.m., I visited the Finance Minister and spoke to him of these matters. The Finance Minister said: "I believe that such odd things as resigning should

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he went away. Once these matters have been settled, then it would be well to go into the problem of changing the formation." That evening, OHIRA had invited KODAMA, KIDO and some others to the separate residence of SUMITOMO and I was also invited. I leisurely spoke to KIDO about things and he said: "I think that I shall see HONOYE tomorrow."

On the morning of the 12th, I visited the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and discussed everything with him. I had lunch together with MATSUDAIRA. Later, I visited IKEDA and YUKI. Both of them were very concerned over various financial matters, the unmanageability of the right-wing and about the bad relationship between the Army leaders in China and those at home.

That evening, I was invited to HOSOKAWA's place and KIDO was also there. We spoke of various things and I returned to Oiso late that night. The reason I was invited to HOSOKAWA's home was to celebrate the first anniversary of the marriage of HOSOKAWA's eldest son and there was no political significance attached to it.

There was a letter from Captain TAYAGI Sokichi of the Navy Ministry which stated: "For some time past, there has been a great deal of rumor concerning matters such as a possible change in cabinets and we are sorely troubled in arriving at any conclusions. On one hand, the battle situation is, as you know, not progressing very favorably. The foreign policy is very muddled and the nation is becoming quite weary of it. Things appear very gloomy and as far as we are concerned, we may as well be on the moon. I heard of your views from Marquis HOSOKAWA on the 13th and my comments on the matter are quite similar to yours."

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This led me to believe that most of the intellectuals today were of the same view. Furthermore, the opinion of the Navy was: "According to the reports of Capt. ISHIKAWA of the Naval General Staff who had gone to observe the situation in North China, the situation there was much worse than that in Manchukuo. His reports showed great concern on this point." In other words, they were saying that the actions of the Army were very poor.

Recently, I met a civil engineer of the Home Ministry named KURASHIGE, who was an official of the 3rd class of the higher civil service. At present, he is on the non-official staff of the General Staff Headquarters of the Army and it is said that he had gone to China often. KURASHIGE said: "There is no control either in China or at home and the leaders have very unreasonable men under them. Their advice is conflicting and because of this, there is great confusion and there has been very little progress. Looking at matters from this point of view, there must be a strong organ within the Army which could control everything for it appears as if there are three or four different governments. For instance, the General Staff constitutes the center of one, so does the Planning Board and the War Ministry. There is no unity and it is exceedingly difficult for those trying to do anything. This is a very dangerous state of affairs."

Furthermore, the Navy says: "At present, the Army General Staff is maneuvering to install Maj. Gen. OSHIMA, the present Military Attache at the Berlin Embassy, as the Ambassador and attempting to oust Ambassador TOGO." In other words, Maj. Gen. OTT, the Military Attache at the German Embassy in Tokyo has been promoted to Ambassador

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so the Army desired the same to be done in Berlin.

Later, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal said that the opinion of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal was: "War Minister SUGIYAMA is not only concealing facts from the Premier, but he is also keeping them from the Emperor. For instance, he reported that the Army would not attack Suchow and before he reported anything to the Emperor, the Army was advancing troops for an attack upon Suchow. Again, the Emperor has often asked the War Minister whether control within the Army was adequate. I do not know whether he was not aware of the situation or whether he meant to deceive the Emperor. Since the situation is such, although Premier KONOYE may be dissatisfied with various things, I believe that it is not quite so serious when one takes the Emperor's standpoint into consideration. In either case, the reconsideration of the War Minister is mandatory."

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Chapter 270
(22 April 1938)

Umezumi Appraised

Translated by Miss Miwako Yanamoto

On the morning of the 19th, I (HARADA) went to the Foreign Ministry. I met the Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs and asked him about recent developments. However, there was no change in particular. There was only one event. A limited few among the young men of the Foreign Ministry had secured an interview with the Minister some time ago. They advised: "Refresh your perception of the present situation, and carry out a political reform policy." The Vice Minister said: "These statements were being made by two or three men. He (Foreign Minister) asked: 'What plans do you have in mind?' They have no concrete problem. They replied: 'It is not a problem of the organization of the Foreign Ministry. It is a problem of personalities.'" The Foreign Minister said: "I shall talk to them a little about what the Asia Bureau, American Bureau, and the Information Bureau are doing." The Vice Minister said: "We are going to see them from time to time and talk to them."

I (HARADA) met the Navy Vice Minister in the afternoon and asked him about various matters. I told him what I had just heard about the Foreign Ministry. The Navy Vice Minister was impatient with the Foreign Ministry and said: "There are two or three such men among the signal officers in the Navy Ministry, too. They don't constitute a problem at all. Although they say it's the young men of the Foreign Ministry, they would correspond to Lt. (jg) or Ensign of the Navy. Why didn't the Foreign Minister say: 'If you have any business, relay it through your section chief,' and refuse the interview? If it were the Navy, we would have rebuffed such men...."

At 3:30 that afternoon, I (HARADA) went to KONOYE's place at Ogikubo. KONOYE was out of bed and had had a hair

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cut. In the evening of the 18th, he (KONOYE) announced through the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet: "I have finally regained my health and have turned over a new leaf. The Premier will attend the office within a day or two. I will do my utmost with new spirit."

The fact is, I (HARADA) had phoned KIDO and said: "We are going to make such an announcement. Therefore, why not come home without stopping at Prince SAIONJI's place?" However, KIDO said: "Prince SAIONJI at first said: 'If you come, it will incite the public and that will be bad. Why not drop the visit?' However, I (KIDO) pressed the matter and said: 'I won't cause any trouble so.....' He finally consented to see me for the first time in a long while. I cannot now cancel the interview." I (HARADA) told KONOYE: "Isn't it all right to make the announcement anyway?" KIDO would not alter his schedule of stopping at Prince SAIONJI's place on the 21st on his return from Kyoto.

KONOYE said: "The announcement must be made two or three days previous. Otherwise, the public might say that the Cabinet quitted down only after KIDO went to Prince SAIONJI's place and was advised by him. That would be unfavorable." Therefore, the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet made the announcement in the evening of the 18th. As far as I can see, it is a fact that Prince SAIONJI's message relayed previously to KONOYE had brought about his determination. However, this way was probably better for the Cabinet, (making the announcement before KIDO's visit to SAIONJI) in the eyes of the public.

KONOYE continued: "MACHIJIRI is going as Deputy Chief of Staff to join TERAUCHI (in China). He came over the other day to pay his respects. At that time, he spoke very

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harshly of UMEZU, the Vice Minister of War. He (MACHIJIHI) said: 'I wonder if a second NAGATA Incident might not occur.' Major Gen. NAKAMURA has been appointed the new Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau. Major Gen. SUZUKI Teiichi is leaving for the front lines as Chief of Staff, succeeding Gen. NAKAMURA. In the morning of the 19th, he came to my place to pay his respects. He (SUZUKI) also said: 'Nominally, UMEZU is carrying out a purge of the Army. However, he is trying to form his own faction. He is a conspirator and a disgrace.' He spoke ill of UMEZU." KONOYE was perplexed and said: "The Army is very troublesome." I (HARADA) told KONOYE: "I do not know UMEZU very well. I do not think he is a frank person, but he is reliable and does his work in earnest. As I have said before, time and time again, he doesn't curry favor of his subordinates. That is the reason for his unpopularity. To say he doesn't curry favor means that he ignores anything his subordinates say. He neither argues nor explains. Such facts make him seem underhanded. Anyway, the tendency now is such that subordinates do not like being suppressed by their superiors. If it is a case of subordinates controlling their superiors, then the superiors have to do whatever their subordinates tell them to do. However, that is not so in his case (UMEZU's). It is only that it has become a tendency for subordinates to ostracize their superiors wantonly. One can say that this forms the basis for the unrest within the Army." KONOYE was quite troubled over the situation. It seems that listening to such people (like MACHIJIHI and SUZUKI) makes a strong impression on him. He (KONOYE) was very dissatisfied with the present War Minister. He said: "How can the War, Navy and Foreign Ministries accomplish anything with

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such leaders?" However, I (HARADA) went home, wondering whether there would be any way out if the matter were investigated further. I saw in KONOYE's attitude, a feeling that he had no choice but to resign when the opportunity presented itself.

After this, I (HARADA) departed immediately for Yagawara for a day or two of rest. I returned to Tokyo at noon of the 21st. At 1:30, MATSUOKA, the Chief Secretary to Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, the Navy Minister, the Vice Minister of the Navy and I met at the Navy Minister's official residence. I (HARADA) said (to the Navy Minister): "I wish that somehow the War Minister, Foreign Minister, and you could talk with KONOYE more frankly. I would like to have you all speak up so that matters can be straightened out." The Navy Minister replied: "Once every month, the War, Navy, and Foreign Ministers have a meeting. We shall ask the Premier to attend and let him speak up. Frankly speaking, the War Minister is worried that if we talk to KONOYE, our remarks will leak out to the opposition.....or rather to the general public." I (HARADA) replied: "Why don't you speak up anyway? If anything leaks out, you can say: 'Such and such has happened. This is very annoying.' You can demand KONOYE's reconsideration. Since KONOYE is a Prince, you show more deference toward him than you would toward Premiers ordinarily. That is extremely bad. (TN: SAIONJI has a note in the margin-"Distrust rather than deference?") Wrong is wrong and right is right. Since it is for the sake of the nation, I do not think there is any need for deference. Don't you think it would be better if you made up your mind to have it out once?" Both the Minister and the Vice Minister of the Navy agreed heartily. They said: "We shall exert special efforts to do that in the near future."

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When I (HARADA) was at KONOYE's place, the Premier had said: "I made a promise to meet YAMAMOTO, the Vice Minister of the Navy. I would like to see him soon." I casually mentioned this to the Navy Vice Minister. He replied: "I heard something like that from ICHINOMIYA, the Parliamentary Vice Minister of the Navy. However, when the Premier was ill, the only ones who didn't pay him a visit were the Navy and Foreign Ministers. Such being the case, there was no need for a Vice Minister to make special efforts to go see him during his illness. I declined through ICHINOMIYA saying: 'Some other time would be better.' Perhaps that message hasn't reached him yet."

The Navy Vice Minister continued: "The Italian warship is here and I am invited tonight to the Embassy. I am extremely busy with Italian affairs." He was ridiculing the whole business.

The Vice Minister said: "Whether it's MACHIJIRI, the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau, or Major Gen. SUZUKI, it is disgraceful for them to speak ill of the Vice Minister of War. If it were the Navy, we would force such people to resign immediately. We could not keep them from the standpoint of control. If differences arose from matters of principle or policy and they expressed their opinions, that would be another matter entirely. However, it is disgraceful for them to talk about personalities." He was very indignant about their attitude. He (Vice Minister) concluded: "Both the War Minister and the Vice Minister of War selected the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau very carelessly since they asked him to resign after only eight or nine months. Since their foresight was poor, there is fault on both sides (the one selected and the ones selecting)." He (Vice Minister) spoke

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ill of the Army.

That night while I (HARADA) had dinner with MATSUDAIRA, I phoned KONOYE. Just then KIDO, who had returned from Okitsu, was at KONOYE's place. There was quite a description of the visit (of KIDO) to Prince SAIONJI in that evening's papers. With the visit to Prince SAIONJI, the announcement of two or three days previous, Premier KONOYE's first appearance to the Cabinet on the 21st, his visit to the Palace that afternoon and audience with the Emperor for about two hours; the political situation was steadied for the time being. The situation became somewhat bright. I (HARADA) promised to meet KIDO in the morning of the 22nd.

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Chapter 271
(27 April 1938)

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Translated by Miss Miwako Yamamoto

In the morning of the 22nd, I (HARADA) met KIDO. He said: "Yesterday evening, I talked with the Premier at Ogikubo for about three hours and a half. We discussed the problem of reorganization (of the Cabinet), etc. Unless we change the Foreign Minister and the War Minister, things will get worse. First, we must make all State Councillors into Ministers without Portfolio. There will be about three or four Ministers of different Ministries who will resign. When these vacancies are filled, the situation will turn for the better. If the Foreign Minister is taken from within the Foreign Ministry, ARITA might be suitable. However, if possible, I think that the appointment of Admiral NOMURA as Foreign Minister might also be considered."

I (HARADA) told KIDO: "UMEZU is chiefly responsible for personnel matters (in the Army). Army men close to KONOYE are criticising him (UMEZU). Who is in the right is a problem which must be studied very carefully. I think that problems arising within the Army must be handled very cautiously by outsiders." I (HARADA) also told KIDO: "I think it would be better if the Cabinet didn't meddle with personnel or the problem within the Army. For instance, MACHIJIRI has adverse feelings against UMEZU. Not only that, there seems to be a feeling among the members of the General Staff Headquarters to oust UMEZU in some way or another. However, this should be carefully considered. We must be careful not to hinder the efforts of the Army which is on its way toward restoring Army discipline. For instance, the present situation has the same atmosphere that existed before Lt. Gen. NAGATA was killed. On one hand, it is said: 'UMEZU will meet the same sort of

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fate as NAGATA.' However, after NAGATA was killed, it was said both within and without the Army: 'A staunch and worthy man was killed. If, by any chance, NAGATA were alive today, wouldn't the restoration of Army discipline have been made more facile?' NAGATA's untimely death was deeply regretted. If the same sort of feeling were to arise after UMEZU were killed, I think the Army would find itself in an extremely delicate position. That is why I would like to refrain as much as possible from making requests or criticisms regarding personnel within the Army." In general, KIDO had the same sentiment.

On the morning of the 22nd, I (HARADA) talked to the Foreign Minister by phone. Foreign Minister HIROTA said: "The editorial in this morning's Asahi said something about consolidation of government agencies concerned with China. If that is true and if the government is going to do such a thing (consolidation), foreign relations will become quite difficult (because the Army will be the controlling power). Matters will only become more involved. I doubt if they will be able to carry it (consolidation) through."

Major Gen. SUZUKI left on the 1 pm train that day, bound for Manchukuo. I (HARADA) rode with him on the train as far as Yugawara. I stayed over there and phoned former Foreign Minister ARITA. I invited him to dinner at Yugawara. I asked him about the internal affairs of the Army which ARITA had heard from Gen. MATSUI and others. Gen. MATSUI also seemed to consider UMEZU as a just man. ARITA said: "It is taboo for outsiders to meddle with personnel within the Army." He was very much in accord with me on that point. I asked ARITA to talk to KIDO in that vein when he had the chance.

On the morning of the 23rd, I (HARADA) went to Okitsu

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and saw Prince SAIONJI. Prince SAIONJI said: "KIDO came over some time ago and talked with me leisurely. Recently, I haven't been able to understand the course of political affairs."

Recently, Prince SAIONJI had said in connection with high court officials close to the Emperor: "This is probably a matter which will come up after I'm gone. I want you to warn KIDO and KONOYE. The Imperial Household is very important. I don't think the brothers of the Emperor would ever stir up anything. However, there have been many cases in Japan's history when the younger brother killed the older brother to get the throne, influenced by the machinations of court officials (TN: SAIONJI's note in the margin: By misunderstood morals). Naturally, I do not think that such an ominous thing will happen. I do not think that Prince CHICHIBU or Prince TAKAMATSU would start anything. However, there may be someone in the Imperial Family who might be taken in by unscrupulous persons. We must be very careful to see that a situation like this does not occur. There would be no telling what would happen then. We must keep watch at all times. The matter is very important. We must always keep this point in mind for the sake of the Imperial Household and for the sake of Japan." Prince SAIONJI was earnestly worried. I (HARADA) said: "I shall watch for an opportune moment and explain this fully to KIDO and KONOYE." I made a complete report of the situation since the last time. I returned that day.

That night, I (HARADA) visited Prince TAKAMATSU from 7 p.m. at his home. We conversed about various matters. Prince TAKAMATSU said: "Why doesn't KONOYE assert his own opinion regarding China and carry things out actively? I do not think that it is the Premier's duty to be passive all the time."

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I (HARADA) told Prince TAKAMATSU: "Prince SAIONJI is very worried about the state of affairs. Since KONOYE was appointed Premier, he has reported everything to the Emperor. This is a very good thing. It denotes an intimate friendship between the Emperor and his officials. He (SAIONJI) says it is extremely desirable. However, it seems that KONOYE talks rather nonchalantly to the Emperor, sometimes in idle conversation, sometimes in complaints, and at others in criticism. He rambles aimlessly so that it's hard to discern the limits of his responsibilities. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal said: 'There has never been a Premier who troubled us so much.' Prince SAIONJI has often warned KONOYE: 'When you talk to the Emperor, tell him definitely just how much of the conversation is official, private, complaints, or idle conversation. You must divide your talk so that the Emperor will have a clear impression of which is which.' Previous Premiers have only made reports. His Majesty is accustomed to hearing only conclusions and has had no experience with hearing complaints and idle conversation. Therefore, there is need for extra discretion on that point. I think KONOYE is being careful these days." Prince TAKAMATSU said: "The Emperor said: 'KONOYE tells me everything.' It seemed he was very satisfied." He (Prince TAKAMATSU) seemed very worried about the restoration of discipline in the Army and about the opposition between the Army and Navy. He made many statements, but there was nothing to be especially noted and remembered.

On the 25th, I met the Navy Vice Minister. I asked him about the situation of the Army. There seemed to be no serious change.

Later I (HARADA) met KIDO. I said: "It looks as if

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KONOYE is in sympathy with one side and is connected with internal problems of the Army, especially personnel. I think he must be extra careful about the fact that people think he seems conspiratorial regarding personnel (of the Army).⁵ I told KIDO what I had previously warned other people about regarding circumstances before the NAGATA Incident and its similarity to the present and that there was talk that UMEZU might be killed. KIDO replied: "I heard this from KONOYE. KONOYE says he heard this from the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. As soon as the War Minister returned from his trip, he was called in by Field Marshals Prince KAN-IN and Prince HASHIMOTO. He was advised: 'You must resign.' We are waiting to see what answer SUGIYAMA and UMEZU will give to this. This is entirely an affair of the Army. We knew nothing about it. It's becoming interesting. In carrying out the reorganization (of the Cabinet), it is necessary to have a War Minister whose political policy will be the same as that of the Cabinet. KAYA, YOSHINO and OTANI will probably resign at the same time. The Foreign Minister has told the Premier: 'With matters as they are, it is difficult to carry out foreign policies skillfully. If there is going to be a reorganization, please let me resign also.' Do you know anything about it?" I (HARADA) replied: "I don't know anything in particular."

On the evening of the 25th, I (HARADA) had dinner with KONOYE, KIDO and MATSUDAIRA. We spent the evening talking about many things and in idle conversation. Nothing out of the ordinary was discussed. KIDO said: "Why doesn't KONOYE take the initiative and place a request for the next War Minister?" I felt this was ill-advised. On the way home, I explained fully to KIDO: "You must consider the attitude

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of the War Minister who has just received counsel from Prince KAN-IN and Prince NASHIMOTO to resign. On the 17th, KONOYE and the Deputy Chief of General Staff discussed the problem of war strategy. Some might take that meeting to mean that KONOYE had established liaison with General Staff Headquarters to conspire for the expulsion of the War Minister. A great deal of discretion is required."

On the 26th, I (HARADA) met ARITA and IKEDA. On the morning of the 27th, I met the Navy Minister and the Vice Minister of the Navy. I secretly asked them the situation regarding Minister SUGIYAMA. They did not know the facts. If that is the case, it's a very strange story. Vice Minister YAMAMOTO said: "Isn't that being done to overthrow the KONOYE Cabinet? It's funny that KONOYE doesn't realize that immediately." I (HARADA) said: "Depending on his (War Minister's) attitude, the responsibilities of the Field Marshals (Prince KAN-IN and Prince NASHIMOTO) will vary. This is a very grave problem. It would be unfavorable if this were considered a conspiracy on the part of KONOYE and General Staff Headquarters. If, by any chance, a critical situation should arise, I would like to have the Navy Minister warn KONOYE that the reorganization of the Cabinet will require a great deal of discretion."

From the standpoint of true logic, the Premier should first be advised if the Field Marshals of Joint Staff Headquarters (of the Army and Navy) are going to counsel resignation of a member of the Cabinet which was formed by the Premier. Naturally, the Premier should defend the War Minister. In view of his responsibilities in political affairs, I think he should consider this problem carefully to see what action would be best and act prudently. I thought that he (KONOYE) should be very discreet about his manner of

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speaking which might seem as if he had liaison with them (Army) because there is bad feeling between him and SUGIYAMA. I explained fully to the Navy Minister and the Vice Minister how very worried I was. The Navy Minister said: "Of course you are right." I (HARADA) said: "In any event, the attitudes of KIDO and others are very important. I intend to tell KIDO and KONOE again that they should take a discreet attitude." I (HARADA) was to meet the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal at 11 am. I intend to ask further about the true situation at that time.

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Chapter 272
(4 May 1938)

Sugiyama is Estranged

Translated by Miss Miwako Yanamoto

At 11 am on the 27th, I (HARADA) went to the Imperial Palace. I met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and asked him many things. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal said: "It is the complaint of the Premier that War Minister SUGIYAMA doesn't express his opinions frankly to the Premier. However, that is a matter of an entirely different nature from this problem (reorganization of the Cabinet and request for resignation of SUGIYAMA). The War Minister is not only unpopular at General Staff Headquarters, but he is considered unsatisfactory in all places. This fact has become quite widely known. I think the fact that MACHIJIRI was sent recently to North China is connected with that. The situation is just like it was before the NAGATA Incident. It did not result directly from Premier KONOYE's attitude. I think it is an entirely different matter. Prince KAN-IN consulted Prince NASHIMOTO. Prince NASHIMOTO told the War Minister directly: 'For the sake of internal and external state of affairs of the Army, it would be better if you resigned.' The War Minister said: 'I do not see any need for that.' Immediately after that, he (War Minister) had an audience with Prince KAN-IN. He replied to Prince KAN-IN in the same manner: 'I do not believe there is any need for my resignation.' I heard this from the Emperor."

Depending on the attitude of China, the boundary for occupation troops was to be written into the peace stipulations. At the Cabinet meeting, it was said: "Wouldn't it be all right to mitigate the peace stipulations orally?" The change was made. The General Staff Headquarters wanted to relay the softening (of the peace stipulations) in writing

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to the German Ambassador. The War Minister had promised to present this at the Cabinet meeting as a desire of Joint Staff Headquarters (of Army and Navy) and that he also was in accord with it. When, at the Cabinet meeting, it was said: "Wouldn't it be all right to relay the mitigations orally and not in writing?", he expressed no intention of asserting the hopes of the Army. Therefore, the decision was made according to the Cabinet's advice and the hopes of the General Staff Headquarters were rebuffed. The complaint of the General Staff Headquarters against the War Minister was: "Because of this, the war will be prolonged. Also, the desires of the General Staff Headquarters which were relayed to the War Minister before the Cabinet meeting did not pass. This is really outrageous." This happened several months ago. Since then, the War Minister does not talk openly and frankly to the Premier. Although the Army wants the War Minister to be frank and become closer to the Premier, the War Minister is somehow very reserved toward Premier KONOYE. The dissatisfaction of the Premier regarding this is very great. This is the chief cause of the Premier's ill-feeling (toward the War Minister). This became known indirectly to the Army. I think this is the reason that General Staff Headquarters is ostracizing the War Minister.

After I (HARADA) heard the story of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, I went to the residence of the Premier at Nagata-cho in the afternoon. He was resting that day and we talked leisurely about many things. Premier KONOYE said: "The way the Princes (KAN-IN and NASHIMOTO) handled matters this time was rather clumsy. I knew nothing about it. On the 17th, the Deputy Chief of the General Staff came and said: 'The War Minister is really giving us trouble.' However, he

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said nothing about this matter (request for War Minister's resignation). "There are three main groups in the Army. One is General Staff Headquarters (with ISHIHARA as its leader); they want to make either NISHIOKA or TADA the War Minister. Second is the War Ministry which wants to keep UMEZU as the chief to any extent; this group is controlled by section chiefs SHIBAYAMA, SATO and IMAMURA. The government thinks the best plan would be a 'combination' of ITAGAKI and TOJO. I thought previously that ITAGAKI and ISHIHARA were very good. However, recently, ITAGAKI is very watchful of ISHIHARA. ISHIHARA tries to keep away from ITAGAKI. The ISHIHARA plan of General Staff Headquarters would give too much power to ISHIHARA. It would be troublesome if he became willful. Therefore, I think that it might be good to put together a SAIGO Takamori type (a receptive person) like ITAGAKI and TOJO who have heads for details. The government, naturally, will not meddle with personnel (of the Army). I intend to observe quietly. However, I would like to carry out a reorganization (of the Cabinet) in a broad sense when the Army is in such a transitional period. Some time ago, the Foreign Minister came over and said: 'I want to resign when the reorganization takes place.'" I (HARADA) repeatedly warned KONOYE: "This is a private squabble of the Army. There seems to be no need for us to force ourselves into that private quarrel." KONOYE said: "I have that in mind." However, I returned with some uneasiness still left in my mind.

Later I met Navy Minister YONAI. The Navy Minister repeatedly said: "It would be better not to meddle with the personnel of the Army in any way. It is taboo to get involved in this private squabble."

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On the 28th, I (HARADA) went to Okitsu. I made a complete report to Prince SAIONJI. When I told him what had happened, Prince SAIONJI said: "That was a clumsy thing to have done (in reference to Princes KAN-IN and NASHIMOTO)." At present, do not get involved in any way with the personnel of the Army." No matter what he claims, I guess KONOYE wants to resign." I (HARADA) asked Prince SAIONJI: "Premier KONOYE is going to Kyoto around the 8th or 9th. He wants to come to Okitsu on his return. Would it inconvenience you?" Prince SAIONJI said: "If he has no particular business on hand at present, wouldn't it be better if he didn't come? People will again say another conference with SAIONJI, etc. It won't be good for KONOYE. Things are pretty clear now so I want him to abandon the idea unless there's something special." I (HARADA) phoned KONOYE immediately to tell him that. KONOYE said: "If that is the case, I shall excuse myself from visiting him."

On the way home, I stopped at Yugawara and rested for two nights. During this time, I met MATSUNO and IMAIDA of the Seiyukai by chance. MATSUNO, the Director of the Seiyukai, repeatedly said: "It's impossible to establish a new party."

I (HARADA) returned (to Tokyo) on May 2. I requested of IKEDA: "Please meet the men of the Railways Ministry who have come from Manchukuo and also the engineers of the Public Works Bureau of the Home Ministry attached to Grand Imperial Headquarters and find out the true facts." On the way back, I met KIDO and asked him about various things. KIDO said: "The War Minister has not said anything since the last time. I (KIDO) said: 'If he's going to take too much time about it.... shall I go and tell the War Minister to resign?' However,

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KONOYE said: 'Don't do anything like that. Please wait.'

In the afternoon, I (HARADA) visited YUKI at the Bank of Japan. We conversed about many matters.

I (HARADA) heard that Prince HIGASHIKUNI was alternating with Lt. Gen. NISHIO as Commander-in-Chief of the Second Army. He was leaving early in the morning of the 3rd. I phoned him early in the morning and was told to come immediately. I went and found Prince HIGASHIKUNI also very worried about the private squabble within the Army. He repeatedly said: "It would be better if the government didn't interfere. I am leaving for Tsinan now. If anything comes up, please write me." I said that I would comply and returned.

I (HARADA) met the Navy Minister and YAMAMOTO, the Vice Minister. We talked about various matters together. They talked as if they were quite dissatisfied with both the War Minister and the Premier. They said: "It is logical to hear about the situation and matters of the Army or about Joint Staff Headquarters (of the Army and Navy) from the War Minister who is a Cabinet colleague. The fact that the Deputy Chief of General Staff sees him (KONOYE) directly and tells him various things, is probably the cause of discontent."

In the afternoon, I (HARADA) met the Foreign Minister. I asked him about conditions since the last time. The Minister was happy because the tariff problem at Shanghai between England and Japan was almost settled. The Foreign Minister said: "I heard from others that if the Army is able to restore military discipline and settles down, HIRANUMA is determined to come up as the Premier. What about that?" The leaders of the Army probably heard from some source that a promise had been made between KONOYE and HIRANUMA about the 'combination' of ITAGAKI and TOJO, and they came to tell the Foreign Minister.

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Since the Foreign Minister asked me, I said: "I positively do not think that such a thing will happen."

That afternoon, I met the British Ambassador at the tea of the Japan-British Society. Ambassador CRAIGIE was also very happy that the tariff problem had been solved.

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Chapter 273
(12 May 1938)

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Translated by Miss Miwako Yanamoto

On the morning of the 5th, I (HARADA) asked AOKI, the Vice-Chief of the Planning Bureau, to come. I asked him about various matters. He seemed very troubled too because the restoration of military discipline in the Army wasn't going smoothly. Even the work of the Planning Office wasn't settled. He was also very worried because things weren't moving too fast. He was very troubled and said: "Isn't everything in a muddle because there is a feeling of instability?" I (HARADA) said: "Premier KONOYE naturally expects to proceed in a clear-cut manner. Why don't you just carry things out with that expectation?" AOKI also said: "Chairman (of the Legislation Bureau) TAKI isn't too favorable either."

Later I (HARADA) met the Foreign Minister. I heard about his meeting with WANG Ko-min. He said: "WANG Ko-min is hoping that peace will come as soon as possible. He even said: 'Shall I send a telegram to the CHIANG Kai-shek Government from the new Government in behalf of the people?' I said: 'That isn't a good idea.' Further, WANG Ko-min said: 'For a period of ten years, we shall have to look to Japan for national defense. However, I ask that the occupation troops do not oppress China. It is good to give self-government to Inner Mongolia. Please do not annex it to Manchukuo.' I (Foreign Minister) have heard from some people: 'ITAGAKI is in a very awkward position. We wonder if they are not trying to discredit ITAGAKI by appointing a Chief of Staff under him and

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letting that Chief of Staff handle the difficult matters.' Pro-ITAGAKI people were very indignant. HIRANUMA, the President of the Privy Council, told KONOYE that he would be willing to undertake the next Cabinet if the internal situation of the Army subsided. I heard this from informative sources." I (HARADA) told the Foreign Minister: "I do not know anything about that story. However, I do not think that HIRANUMA has enough pluck to take over."

That evening, I (HARADA) met Ministers YOSHINO and KAYA at the Finance Minister's official residence. I talked to them at length and said: "The Government must avoid nominating anyone or saying anything about this private squabble of the Army. Many persons who are on the General Staff Headquarters' side call on the Premier. Rather than saying those on the side of General Staff Headquarters, a better description might be that, it is rumored that people who hold antipathy against the present leaders call on him frequently. He must be very discreet when the private squabble of the Army is so intense at present, or KONOYE's reputation will be colored. I think it is extremely bad for the future and also for the Army itself." Both men were very much in accord with me and said: "Let us be very careful."

Early in the morning of the 6th, I (HARADA) visited the Navy Vice-Minister. We conversed about the state of affairs since the last time. On my way home, I stopped at the Suikosha for a word of congratulations to Commander-in-Chief HASEGAWA who had just made a triumphant return. I spoke with Commander HASEGAWA for about fifteen minutes. The Commander said: "The Army is not in accord at the front. There are various factional disputes among

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Army people themselves. This is really disgraceful and troublesome."

Then, I (HARADA) met KIDO. KIDO said: "KONOYE says: 'Please see HIRANUMA.' However, I have not seen him yet. I had dinner last night at my home with the War Minister. We talked leisurely about various matters. The War Minister seemed very cool. He didn't say anything about having been advised by Prince NASHIMOTO. I said: 'There seems to be varied and numerous complaints about UMEZU. However, he has the strongest character.... There is bad atmosphere surrounding UMEZU; just like the one which existed before NAGATA was killed. Therefore, if he is a valuable man, why not remove him from the position which endangers his life?' With a rather severe face, the War Minister seemed to feel that he should think it over. He said: 'There is a lack of good men in the Army. I am thinking of bringing KOISO (to the position of Vice-Minister). However, he does not have the confidence of the Emperor. It would be a gamble and there are some dangers involved. He is a little difficult to use, but I think that I shall try to use men like KOISO by some means. Prince KAN-IN is quite old, and I would like to ask him to retire voluntarily but....' He seemed very worried, and yet he seemed comparatively cool as if nothing were troubling him. I can't understand him. He (War Minister) said: 'In any case, I would like to see Premier KONOYE when he returns.' I (KIDO) don't think we can find out about the state of affairs until a little more time passes."

On the 8th, I (HARADA) was invited to lunch at HOSOKAWA's place along with KONOYE's family. KONOYE said: "Did I tell you about HIRANUMA's visit while I was ill?"

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I replied: "I know nothing about it." KONOYE said: "HIRANUMA's manner of speaking was: 'If the Army settles down, I am willing to come forth (as Premier),' but...." Since the Foreign Minister had told me about such a matter two or three days previous as coming from informative sources and I heard the same thing from KONOYE, I gathered it was true. KONOYE said: "TADA is meddling with the affairs of the Army. SUGIYAMA said that he wished to see me. I shall see him after I return from my trip. I am leaving for the Kyoto region in the morning of the 9th. I shall return on the 11th."

On the night of the 8th, I went to Oiso. In the morning of the 9th, Gen. UGAKI stopped at my resort home in Oiso on his way back from horseback riding. We conversed for about an hour about various matters. Gen. UGAKI didn't seem to know what was going on at present in the Army. Naturally, I didn't tell him anything. Gen. UGAKI had met Chairman MACHIDA at Atami some time ago. Gen. UGAKI told me that Chairman MACHIDA himself had said: "The Premier is very good at listening. However, I think that he doesn't carry things out decisively. I think that KONOYE should be independent and say: 'I want to do this in such a manner. How about doing this in this manner?' I think that he should take the lead. As Premier, he should have a little more urge to do the guiding. I hear dissatisfaction within the political parties about such matters." Gen. UGAKI himself said: "Some time ago, since men like AKITA and MATSUNO were not around, I thought it was an opportune moment and talked leisurely with Premier KONOYE for about three hours. I told him the points that came to my mind. I said: 'Why

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don't you handle matters actively saying: 'This should be this way. This would turn out this way if it were handled in this manner.' I tried to tell the Premier: 'It isn't good for you to be passive all the time.'"

That evening I (HARADA) left for Okitsu. Early the next morning, before going to Prince SAIONJI's place, I phoned the Foreign Minister. I asked: "I saw big headlines in this morning's newspaper saying Foreign Administration Ministry and that it was a reorganization plan of the Foreign Ministry. Just what is that all about?" He (Foreign Minister) replied: "There is no central organ handling matters concerning China. Just in case there is opposition at the Cabinet meeting, I am making a definite plan for reference. I think that someone released the plan which was made by Section and Bureau Chiefs to the press. I have no intention of actively submitting this plan at the Cabinet meeting. There is nothing else in particular about foreign policy matters to report."

I (HARADA) went to Prince SAIONJI's place. I reported the situation as I always do. Prince SAIONJI said: "From watching the way KONOYE is doing things, it seems to me that he is working with the feeling of a servant. I wish he had a little more self-confidence in the fact that he has been entrusted with the administration of the nation. I think he should also have strong confidence in the fact that he bears full responsibility for the administration of the country. He should assert himself independently and I think he should have an urge toward active guidance. However, I cannot see such points in his conduct. He is a failure if he is going to handle matters with the feeling of a servant." Prince SAIONJI

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was worried about this matter.

SAIONJI further stated: "Now, there is the matter of the recent arrival of Germans and Italians to Japan. If they met with the approval of the Japanese, the Japanese would forget such thing as their own positions and the dignity and prestige of the nation and acted like slaves serving a master. It is a very disgusting and disgraceful matter. On the other hand, in the case of disapproval, they would treat them like enemies. They have never taken a neutral attitude and it is very strange. This is a very vexing problem."

He (SAIONJI) said: "I've been thinking about dictatorship governments. The popularity of NAPOLEON I lasted just fifteen years. Including NAPOLEON III, it's an additional fifteen years. The French might say it is nineteen. Whether it is nineteen or twenty years, it is still only temporary fame. I think that the secret of politics is to work for the good of the people and to endure conservatively for a long period of time."

I (HARADA) said: "The Premier is quite worried about the Emperor's health. The other day, the amount of food that the Emperor ate at mealtime was very small. KONOYE asked: 'Why do you eat so little?' He (Emperor) replied: 'It is not the amount that counts. I have enough calories.' KONOYE was worried. We urged the Emperor to go yachting in Tokyo Bay on Saturdays and Sundays. What if you (SAIONJI) urged him too?" Prince SAIONJI said: "I think that there is too much fuss about guards and such when the Emperor makes a trip. Any little excursion is taken so seriously. It is very annoying that they (high officials) take so much precaution as if he (Emperor)

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were traveling in an enemy country and then talk about their responsibilities. If the fact that her people revere the Imperial Household and are absolutely loyal to the Emperor is glorified to the world, the Emperor should be safe no matter where he goes. At times there may be Koreans or lawless foreigners; but, unless the Emperor goes about more boldly, the spirit of the people will break away from the Imperial Household. This is an extreme example, but it only serves to widen the distance between the people and the Imperial Household if they (high officials) are engrossed only in the safety of a member of the Imperial Household. Therefore, even if harm should come to a member of the Imperial Household or misfortune should befall him, it would bind the people and the Imperial Household more strongly together if the Emperor were to go about more openly. I think there would be no objections. I do not like him, but didn't HITLER go to Italy and even fearlessly to Rome? In contrast, the Emperor's trips within the country itself are so ostentatious. I think it is highly unfavorable to arrange his trips in such a manner that it widens the breach between the Imperial Household and the people. Even if, by a remote chance, something does happen to him, I think it would be better to be less ostentatious." Prince SAIONJI reiterated the opinion which he has held from before. Finally, Prince SAIONJI said: "I guess there is no circumstance at the moment that would make KONOYE resign immediately." I (HARADA) said: "I, of course, do not think there is. However, it would be troublesome if you were not mentally prepared for it just in case." Then I went home.

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I (HARADA) had dinner that night with MATSUDAIRA Yasumasa and MUSHAKOJI. I asked them about the internal affairs of the Imperial Household Ministry. We conversed about various advices to be given the Imperial Household Minister and parted.

On the morning of the next day, the 11th, I (HARADA) met Vice-Minister YAMAMOTO. I asked him about the progress of various matters since I last spoke to him. There was no change except that the Air Force of the Navy had bombed Amoy on the 10th. 3,800 marines landed to begin the attack on Amoy. He (YAMAMOTO) said: "This had been the desire of Governor-General of Formosa KOBAYASHI for some time. Unless we attacked the southern region (of China), the Chinese (from Amoy) who had been nationalized in Formosa wouldn't be able to maintain their 'prestige' (since Amoy claimed that only never-dowell Chinese had gone to Formosa). The Governor-General of Formosa knew nothing about it (the attack before it actually happened). He had intended to go to Tokyo on the 13th, but this was suddenly postponed. Previously, WACHI, the Chief of Staff of the Army (in Formosa) had gone to the Governor-General and said: 'I shall go and talk to Army headquarters in Tokyo about attacking Amoy.'" This came in the news from Formosa.

At 9:00 a.m., I (HARADA) saw OKAMOTO, the Consul-General of Shanghai, off to his new post from the Tokyo Station. On the way back, the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs and I went to my office at Sumitomo. I conversed with the Vice-Minister till past 10:00 o'clock. The Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs was very worried about various matters. He said: "When the Premier returns,

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I would like to meet him. I would also like to see KIDO."

TOMITA, the Governor of Hiroshima Prefecture, came just then. He said: "The Emperor seemed quite worried about the Premier's health. When the Prefectural Governors dined with the Emperor some time ago, the Emperor asked: 'How is your health?' as soon as the Premier came. At the dinner of the Prefectural Governors at the official residence of the Premier, the Premier was apparently tired and didn't join us. However, if he had just shown up for even a little while, it would have made the Prefectural Governors happy. It was regrettable (that he didn't show up). When I am away from Tokyo, I hear it said that Premier KONOYE doesn't have enough character. He is intelligent, has perception, and can see ahead. And yet, the fact that there is an atmosphere in which something somewhere is lacking, becomes the cause of uneasiness." He (TOMITA) was very worried.

Around 2:30, Gen. ABE came to my place. He talked about various matters in the Army. He said: "The War Minister said: 'Even if I go to KONOYE's place and tell him various things, I get no response. He keeps quiet and doesn't even answer me.' There is some dissatisfaction on the part of the War Minister against the Premier. Gen. ABE told me somewhat the same thing that the Navy Minister had said the other day.

I went to KIDO's place that evening. I talked with KIDO about various matters for about an hour and a half. He said: "There seems to be a feeling now that it might be TADA who will be ousted from the Army. I am very much in accord with what Prince SAIONJI said, meaning that it would be better if KONOYE handled matters more independently."

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However, KIDO seemed to have given up hope as he said:

"After all, it's his nature and it's unavoidable."

I (HARADA) was invited to the Shinkiraku that night by MAKITA, the President of Nenryo-gaisha (Company controlling fuel production). I met the Chief of the Fuel Production Bureau (of the Commerce and Industry Ministry). Although I didn't say anything, they, too, were talking among themselves of their dissatisfaction (of the Premier).